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THE
POLITICAL
AND
COMMERCIAL WORKS

Of that celebrated Writer

CHARLES D'AVENANT, LL. D.

Relating to the
TRADE and REVENUE of ENGLAND,
The PLANTATION TRADE,
The EAST-INDIA TRADE,
And AFRICAN TRADE.

Collected and revised by
Sir CHARLES WHITWORTH,
Member of Parliament.

To which is annexed a copious INDEX.

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AN ESSAY

AN
ESSAY
UPON
UNIVERSAL MONARCHY.

VOL. IV.

B

THE
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AN
ESSAY
UPON
UNIVERSAL MONARCHY.

THOUGH the wisdom of man, his foresight, his policies, and his bodily strength, be confined to narrow limits, yet his ambition extends very far, if it is not unbounded: his good inclinations are likewise few and short, but his irregular and bad appetites know no end: and albeit he is to act so brief a part here, he conceives high thoughts, he heaps riches upon riches, he desires to add dominion to dominion, and lays remote designs, as if his corporal substance were as immortal as his soul.

Not only private men covet to join mannor to mannor, with an endless view of increasing, but commonwealths also, where one would imagine the collective wisdom should think and devise for the best, endeavour to conquer province after province, and act as if they were always to continue, hoping by good government to render themselves perpetual; but while commonwealths thus extend their limits, they are working their own bane, for all big

empires determine in a single person. Princes, whether they will place their happiness in the exercise of all sort of virtues, or in the enjoyment of all kind of pleasures, have the means and opportunity, either way, of giving themselves full content. One kingdom will amply do it, yet with restless care they interrupt their sleeps, hurt their healths, suffer the incommodities of heat and cold, run the hazard of their lives, all to enlarge their territories, and are never satisfied till they can grasp the whole.

This insatiable appetite has so prevailed, that even the best philosophers, and most famous lawgivers, except Lycurgus, have formed their models of government rather for increase, than preservation; not that they could think such a constitution good or right, but they were compelled to adapt their schemes to the depraved manners, and wild passions of humankind.

Private persons would not be unhappy, though with less possessions of land or money, and civil life would not be so obnoxious to law, contentions, fraud, perjury, and oppression, if men would set some bounds to their desire of having. Commonwealths, well founded, would be eternal, if they could contain themselves within a reasonable extent of territory; and Princes would make their own and the condition of their people much more happy, if, instead of leading them out to foreign conquests, they would endeavour to rule them at home in peace, with wholesome laws, piety, and justice.

But how have these errors, public and private, taken their rise? In all appearance it is from hence, that ever since the corruption of nature, which is very ancient, we have given wrong names to things, and have allotted to vice the stamps and attributes of virtue. We term avarice, prudence and œconomy;

homy; we think none wise, but who abound in wealth; and none honest, but whom fortune favours: We call the false arts of states-men, and the evil faith, perjury, and dissimulation of Princes, wisdom and deep policy; temerity we stile high courage, ambition we call a noble thirst after glory, and they who vex, rob and disturb the world, we dignify them with the names of conquerors and heroes.

And because nothing was set by, esteemed and revered, but wealth and power, the forward part of mankind strove to obtain as much of both as possibly they could; and these, as they grew in strength, formed themselves into particular principalities and commonwealths.

And these principalities and commonwealths, finding they increased in fame, and value with the world, as they increased in wealth and power, and that success covered any crime, and gave it a new name and another sort of lustre, proceeded forward still to fresh conquests, till they had subdued all round about them; and from thence came what we call Universal Monarchy or Empire.

The ambitious part of mankind have hunted after this game for near 4000 years, with short intermissions and breathing whiles, and commonly without any regard whether or no in the pursuit they followed the rules of honesty, common justice, or virtue.

Perhaps the same chace will be again renewed; and if so, these papers may prove no unseasonable warning: and in all appearance the Nimrods and mighty hunters before the Lord had never so fair a view before them.

Properly speaking there has never yet been an universal empire; and of the nations that have most lorded it over the rest of the world none has been

able to embrace the whole ; on the contrary, more has been out of their rule than within it : however, such have been called universal Monarchs, or Lords of the whole earth, who, having subdued whatever they thought worth the taking in, did at last sit down in quiet, not meeting with any other opposition : of which kind were the Assyrian or Babylonian, the Persian, Macedonian, and Roman Empires.

And such is the restless ambition of mankind, that from the earliest knowledge we have of human affairs, there hardly appears to have been any long course of time, in which some people or other did not either actually obtain, or at least attempt to procure to themselves sovereign sway over the whole.

First one great empire was erected, with infinite devastations of the earth, and slaughter of its inhabitants ; that stood for a while to oppress the world, at last it was subverted, but with fresh calamities to the race of men ; out of its ruins a second lifted up its head, which was overthrown by Alexander, who set up a third ; but his, reared in haste, fell as suddenly ; then arose a fourth, in strength, and in the beauty of its fabrick exceeding all the rest, but that too was at last dismembered and overthrown.

Out of the ruins of this mighty fabrick several kingdoms and states were erected ; but on this side of the world none arrived to any considerable strength and power, till Charlemagne had founded a dominion that extended very far : he was a martial as well as a wise Prince, and reigning prosperously for 47 years, to his own kingdom of France (in which that part of Germany was comprehended which lies between Saxony, the Danube and the Rhine) he added Gascony, Navarre, and Catalonia : he was crowned King of Lombardy, and had
all

all Italy as far as the Low Calabria. He had conquered Suabia, Bavaria, Franconia, all Saxony, Hungary, Transilvania, Istria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, except some maritime towns which by compact were left the Greek Emperor. The French historians make him likewise very strong in Spain, and say, that with Navarre and Arragon, he held all from the Pyrenean mountains to the river Eber. And they who contemplate his whole territory, must own he had very near all that part of the Roman dominions, which, after the division made by Constantine, was called the Western empire.

If the Carlovingian race, as well as that of Meroveus, had not very much degenerated towards the latter end; if Charlemagne had not cantoned his numerous illegitimate issue in little principalities, but, which was of more consequence, if he had not divided his acquisitions between his children; if the same custom of dismembering their dominions had not been generally followed by his descendants, in all probability the empire he had founded might have been very powerful, and of long duration: for with stretching himself out a little farther into Spain, he would have had a situation very proper for Universal Monarchy. To which we must add, that he was in possession of Germany and France, countries, above all others in Europe, the most productive of men.

The next great body of government is that which the Turks have erected in the East, of which by and by I shall make some little mention.

The next people who had the appearance of obtaining Universal Monarchy were the Spaniards.

The foundation of all that power and greatness to which this nation arrived was laid by Ferdinand. By his marriage with Isabella he united the kingdoms

doms of Castile and Arragon, and by taking the realm of Granada from the Moors, he got rid of such a domestick enemy, as would always have hindered Spain from foreign enterprizes. The Indies were first discovered and invaded at his expence, and by his encouragement. He formed that discipline, which afterwards prevailed so much, he bred up those armies, that in the next reign performed so many gallant actions, and indeed it may be justly said, he was to his grandson Charles the Vth, what Philip of Macedon had been to his son Alexander.

Fortune, which had designed to advance the house of Austria, had so contrived it, that these circumstances should meet in one man, first to be eldest of the Austrian family, which might give him a pretension to the Empire; and, secondly, to have the succession of the house of Burgundy, and of the kingdoms of Castile and Arragon, to center in his person.

The Arragonians lying on the Mediterranean, had the opportunity of joining to their dominions the islands of Majorca and Minorca, the realms of Sardinia and Sicily, and that of Naples. The Castilians lying on both sides of the Streights, were situated conveniently for taking in the opposite towns on the coast of Africa, for conquering the Canaries, and for discovering and possessing the West Indies. The paternal and maternal ancestors of Charles, had subdued all these countries, and they were descended peaceably to him; and being the master of such large estates, did rather promote, than hinder his election to the imperial dignity; for no other Prince was at that time of power sufficient to be set up, in opposition to the growth of France, otherwise the choice perhaps had fallen upon his brother Ferdinand, as their grandfather Maximilian had once designed.

Charles

Charles the Vth being at once Emperor, and King of Spain, having under his command the numbers of Germany, and its strength of horse, the Spanish foot, so famous for discipline, the ports of Italy, and its adjacent islands, his dominions of the Low Countries, which made him considerable on this side the mountains, and, to give motion to this mighty engine, being besides master of the wealth of Peru and Mexico, he seems to have had a very fair prospect of attaining to what we call Universal Empire.

But the reasons are obvious enough how the Spaniards came to miss that of which they had such fair hopes, and whereunto they so visibly aspired.

Nothing that is of a hasty growth, can be of a long continuance, which we may see made good in all the operations either of art or nature. That lordship Alexander had obtained over the world, was the quick result of victories suddenly gotten, therefore his power, which had not yet taken any root, was short lived, and in a manner ended with him. But the Assyrian and Roman Empires, which continued so many centuries, were the slow product of time: the foundations of them were deeply laid by great men, and with much wisdom. It cost many consultations, battles, sieges, much labour, and many a valiant life, to rear up those superstructures, and they were many ages in erecting; but when finished, they were strong and solid fabricks, which were not to be shaken but in a great tract of time, and by very much ill conduct. These governments, firmly established at first, and well rooted, were able to resist the vices of their people, the corruption of their ministers, the lusts, madness and profusion, or weakness and effeminacy, in a long succession of their Princes.

But

But this was not at all the case of Spain; the greatness of the house of Austria was sudden and accidental, the matches with Mary of Burgundy, and with Johanna, heiress of Castile and Arragon, accumulated so many provinces and kingdoms under one dominion.

Nor had this power time to spread its roots and fix; for the German Princes, jealous of their liberties, would not suffer the imperial dignity and the sceptre of Spain to continue in one person, though Charles the Vth did his utmost to have it so; for notwithstanding that about the year 1531, he had thought it necessary, for the support of his house, to get his brother Ferdinand chosen King of the Romans; yet afterwards he endeavoured to vacate that election, and so to transmit his whole dominions entirely to his son; in order to which, in the year * 1548, he made divers motions, and had several transactions with his brother Ferdinand, and with his nephew Maximilian. He knew the sovereign sway, which in his ambitious thoughts he had projected for himself and his posterity, was not to be compassed, unless two such powerful estates were joined together.

Other circumstances contributed to hinder this Prince from carrying on the greatness of Spain, so far as might have been expected from his courage, conduct, vigilance and sagacity. In France he had to deal with Francis the Ist, one of the most gallant and active kings the world has seen for many ages; he was new in the conquests his grandfather Ferdinand had made in Italy; in his Belgick provinces, he had to do with men impatient to the last degree of any invasion upon their civil rights, who were ever in commotion, who cost him ten voyages to appease their factions and tu-

* Thuanus, tom. 1. lib. 5. p. 137.

mults, and who lay so remote from the main body of his strength, as not to be brought entirely under. Besides, he had not that full affection of his people, which is requisite for Princes that would succeed in great attempts. The Germans feared he might enslave them by the wealth and power of Spain, the Spaniards, and not without reason, thought him partial to his Flemings and his Germans: in short, but few of his subjects looked upon him as (what the vulgar call) their natural and native Prince.

But though Charles was necessitated to divide the power of the house of Austria into two branches, yet there seems to have been left to Philip his son, a foundation, upon which he might have erected a very great superstructure.

The troops his father had bred, his kingdom of Spain, his possessions in Italy and the Low Countries, and the riches of the Indies, were such a strength, as had it been rightly managed, might have extended his sceptre, as far as that of any King had ever reached.

Besides, he had not such opponents to wrestle with as his father found in Francis I, Solyman the Magnificent, and our Henry the VIIIth, for after Philip's accession to the crown, France fell under a minority, and immediately was engaged in a civil war, that lasted near 40 years; Germany was divided about religious matters; Selimus, an unactive Prince, sat in the Ottoman throne, and the crowns of England and Scotland were worn by women.

In appearance all these favourable conjunctures should have tended to place him on a very eminent height, and yet we see he proceeded no farther than to conquer Portugal.

We must therefore conclude that Spain had some inward impediments that checked her in her progress;

gress; for neither did her Prince want ambition; nor were her people deficient in courage for the highest undertaking; but the causes may be plainly assigned of her rising no higher under Philip, and of her declining ever since.

One fundamental error has run through the whole administration of that kingdom's affairs ever since it has made any figure in the world, which is, that no regard has been had how much they dispeopled their country. It had not abounded in men for many ages, their wars with the Romans had sufficiently thinned it. The Goths afterwards made great depopulations: no sooner had the Goths increased to some degree, but they were invaded by the Moors, who made a mighty slaughter of the natives. When such of the old Spaniards as had retired themselves into the Asturias, the Pyrenean mountains, and old Castile, began to lift up their heads, they could gain no foot of ground upon the plains, but with the loss of men. We may indeed reckon they were in a continued state of war with these Saracens for about 775 years, reckoning from the reign of D. Pelayo, to the taking of Granada by Ferdinand.

During this time there were frequent invasions from Africk; and when such numbers came over (though they were bravely resisted and expelled) it must needs have weakened the natives, especially since we cannot perceive the Spaniards were ever inclined to incorporate with the Moors of such provinces as from time to time they reduced to their obedience; when they had conquered a country, the enemies were forced either to return to Africk, to abjure Mahometanism (which few did) or to retreat to such places as they still held. And thus without any care to provide hands for war, arts, labour, and manufactures, they proceeded till the reduction of Granada.

Besides

Besides what they suffered from abroad, the country was perpetually dispeopled by domestick wars between the Kings of Castile and Arragon, among one another, or with their neighbours of Navarre and Portugal. And in these contests sometimes the Kings of Castile and Arragon were possessed with such mutual rage as to call over troops from Africk one against the other.

Whoever considers what has been here laid down, will grant that Spain for a long time has not been fully peopled.

What number of inhabitants it contained while the Moors were among them appears by one instance in Mariana, who says that about Seville, in olive yards, called Axarase, there were 100,000 cottages and oil mills; and quotes for this the history compiled by King Alonzo the Wise.

But notwithstanding they were thus exhausted of men in their long wars, and that they wanted inhabitants for those provinces and cities from whence they had expelled the Moors, yet within two months after Granada was taken, King Ferdinand entered upon a very strange council, which was to banish all the Jews. They had been long inmates of Spain, and one would think were not so incompatible with the religion of the country, as direct Mahometans, yet by a severe edict they were all forced to depart. Mariana computes that there went away 170,000 families, in all 800,000 persons.

The Granadin Moors by capitulation had the choice of remaining or going away, but they easily foresaw the inquisition would make their stay impracticable, and therefore as many as could, passed over into Africk. This tribunal seems to have had place only in Arragon till the year 1478, at which time it was settled in Castile, and when Granada was taken

taken it was extended over all the Spanish territories. Without doubt no country can be well inhabited where this sanguinary court has any authority. It was set up at the instigation of the Cardinal Pedro Goncales de Mendoza archbishop of Sevil, it was levelled at the Moors and Jews, and has tended more to the dispeopling and destruction of Spain than all the invasions they have had from Africk.

To the severities of this court, is to be attributed that Spain all along has had perpetual evacuations, and no recruits. And whatever the catholick writers may pretend, undoubtedly the cruelties inflicted upon this miserable people on the score of religion occasioned that rebellion of the Morisco's, which happened Anno 1570, in Philip the IId's time, in the mountains of Alpujares, which lasted 2 years, and was suppressed by D. John of Austria, and the Duke of Arcos, but not without great loss to Spain, because while that action continued, and after it was over, such vast numbers of them went away, as that even the rich plains about Granada are ever since become a desert.

For the reasons here given Spain must have wanted its full complement of inhabitants at the very time its greatness seemed most formidable to the rest of Europe. It is true, Charles and Philip were both able to raise great forces, which looked as if they reigned over populous kingdoms; but this strength of theirs had no root. Soldiers of fortune will at first from all parts resort to states that are new and increasing, and to a rising young Prince; and an army so composed may be good for a single expedition, but can never fix a wide and lasting empire. Countries that will enlarge their dominions, should have within themselves a perpetual spring of people, for war is a devourer that must be always fed,

In

In all appearance, this want of people was the inward impediment that checked the Spaniards in their progress towards Universal Monarchy; and peradventure it may be safely laid down, that in the height of all their greatness, they had not such an innate strength as could enable them to succeed in so vast an undertaking: In all probability they began where they should have ended; had they waited till in the natural course of time, those countries had been replenished with men, which were left desolate by the departure or extinction of the Moors; if for a while they had made no more attempts than what were just necessary to preserve discipline, and to inure their people to war; if, as wise nations have ever done, they had invited over by privileges and protection all sort of comers to inhabit their deserted provinces; if in the mean time, by encouraging trade, tillage and manufactures, they had kept in Spain part of that gold and silver which came from the Indies: lastly, if they had staid to be strong within, before they exerted themselves too much abroad, they had probably established a dominion and power, to which the greatest part of Europe must have submitted.

But, instead of all this, they were like a tree that begins to spread its branches before it has taken any deep root, whose large top makes it the more obnoxious to every blast of wind; they aimed at sovereign sway without hands to hold it; they were indeed lords of many kingdoms, but this was a huge bulk without any sinews.

Machiavel observes very rightly, "That whosoever would make any city great and apt for dominion, must with all industry endeavour to throng it with inhabitants, otherwise it will be impossible to bring it to any great perfection." This was the principal object of the Roman people's care.

But

But even before the reign of Ferdinand, and much more ever since, the Spaniards have taken quite other measures; and have thought fit, both in Europe and in the Indies, to settle a large empire by a wide desolation.

Upon this rock the affairs of Spain have split. Their suffering so many persons to enter into religious orders is a branch of the same ill conduct. As to their American plantations, those outlets would not have been hurtful to them, if they had taken care by mild laws and good encouragement to have peopled from abroad their mother kingdom. The Romans were always sending out colonies, and planting elsewhere such slips and scions, without any prejudice to the main trunk; England has done the same, and is much richer, and not the weaker at home for these foreign settlements.

But as impossible as it seems to have been that his designs could succeed, it is evident he aimed at Universal Monarchy; and yet by what appears from his actions in the world, there is reason to think he not only wanted strength, but that he was likewise destitute of council; and that though his dominions had been much better peopled, he must have miscarried in his enterprizes.

Machiavel observes, that the Romans were never involved in two considerable wars at one and the same time. What he says is very true. For these people proceeded by such leisurely steps as were conducted by wisdom, and left nothing to chance. When they had subdued all Italy, they attacked the commonwealth of Carthage, whose spirit of liberty was most like to stand in the way of their intended greatness. Nor did they think of remote designs in Asia, till, by conquering Philip, they had broken the force of Greece: and by observing
this

this method of singling out one nation after another, they were the surer of success, because their councils at home were not distracted with variety of matters, and their strength abroad was not divided : nor did they leave any attempt imperfect, either in apprehension of the difficulty, or diverted by some fairer prospect; and this conduct made them at last lords of all.

But the Spaniards, in the administration of their affairs, took quite other measures. First, as to Charles the Vth, it is observed of him that he never finished any enterprize. Philip the II^d was so far from avoiding being implicated with too many actions at once, that at the same time he had upon his hands the support of the league (which was a perpetual drain of treasure to him, and could not but end in open war, as it did at last) the rebellion of the Low Countries, and the invasion of England; and all this not by accident, but upon premeditation. The design of invading England had been laid in 1581, and for 7 years he had been making all sort of preparations towards it. He entered into league with the catholick Princes of France in 1584, and the defection in his Belgick provinces had continued from 1568. What council was able to embrace such a variety of business? and what treasure, naval force, and armies, were adequate to so many, and such high designs?

Thus endeavouring to embrace the whole, and all at once, he succeeded in nothing; for the stream of his power was diverted into too many branches, to run any where with such an impetuous force as might bear down all before it.

His not succeeding in these attempts, did not only stop his progress for the time, but they were wounds of which Spain has ever since bled and languished. The Netherlands have been a canker perpetually eating upon its vitals. The sums ex-

pended to support the league drew away the best part of its treasure. But the fatal blow of all was the miscarriage of their armada; it was one of Fortune's bearded arrows, it struck deep into the flesh, and no skill or care could get it out. Land armies may be recruited, and raw troops are disciplined in 2 or 3 years service; but to form a great naval strength, as it is infinitely more expensive, so it is the work of much longer time; and if it be once so broken as that was, it is hardly to be repaired.

We may properly enough date the rise of the Spanish power from the year 1503, at which time Gonzales, called the great captain, entirely reduced the kingdom of Naples: from that year they went on increasing 85 years: and perhaps we may as properly fix the year 1588 for the æra of their declension.

It is true, the valour and wonderful conduct of Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, did for a while uphold the reputation of that kingdom; but he seems the last great man they had. Ever since his death their affairs have gone backwards: But we may safely lay down, that from the year 1588, they had lost all hopes of attaining to universal monarchy.

However, they were masters of so rich dominions, and had such a remaining foundation of strength, that though perhaps they could not be in a condition to enlarge their territories, yet still they might have been a very potent people; at least they might have held their own, and in conjunction with the empire, would have always been an overmatch for any Prince or power in Europe, had they not continued to pursue those measures, which all along had been so prejudicial to them.

The inquisition, from its first establishment, had driven from this country the most useful and most industrious

industrious of its inhabitants, from that time trade and tillage began to decline in Spain, this brought a distemper upon their body politick, which, though by slow degrees, was sure to kill at last. But so strong a constitution as theirs was (supported too with the cordials their gallioons brought every year from India) might have lasted a long while, had not Philip the III^d made so large an evacuation at once, as in a manner drew away all its vital spirits.

In 1610, by a strict edict, severely executed, he banished from his dominions all the descendants of those Jews and Moors, who after the reduction of Granada had chiefly planted themselves in Valentia, and Castile, and Andalusia, but were spread through the whole kingdom. Most of them had been baptized, and were called New Christians: It is true, they were suspected to lean still towards their old superstition, but time and gentle usage might have brought them into the bosom of that church. But whatever they were, or would have been, men of all religions have thought the council of no nation did ever make so wrong a step: The common opinion is, there were then driven away 1,200,000 persons. Upon their expulsion, all the lands of the nobility and gentry forthwith fell in value; for it was their custom to pay for what they held a full third more than the natural Spaniards could afford to give. And thus it came to pass, that this region, in former ages so well inhabited, is now become a desert. Livy tells us, * “*Hispania, non quam Italia modo, sed quam ulla pars terrarum bello reparando aptior erat.*” This country, that heretofore bred so many soldiers, can now hardly send out an army

* Tit. Liv. l. 28.

of its own natives: So that as Philip the II^d, by taking bad measures, made it impossible for the Spaniards to extend their limits, so Philip the III^d, by having thus dispeopled his country, has made it so difficult for them to preserve their own dominions, that we see them in this unhappy juncture of affairs compelled to throw themselves into the arms of France.

We cannot say the Spaniards, from the time they began to make a figure in the world, have had above 2 warlike princes upon the throne, viz. Ferdinand and Charles the Vth; whereas kingdoms that go about to form any great empire, must have had a long succession of men of council and action, since one loose reign, if it last any number of years, is sufficient to overthrow the policy and discipline of 2 or 3 ages; for men, with great labour, and slowly, climb up hill to renown and virtue, but they tumble down apace towards effeminacy and vice: such an uninterrupted series of wise and active kings will in a short tract of time erect a very large dominion, as we see the Turks did in less than 3 centuries, among whom there was not the interposition of 1 weak reign, from Ottoman their 1st founder to Selymus the son of Solymán. And a people must needs become strong and formidable, whose courage always leads them to make new conquests, and whose wisdom so provides that they never lose any footing they have once gained; it is true, under Bajazet their affairs were brought to the brink of ruin; however he himself was neither defective in valour, nor in conduct, and all that can be said is that he was overborn by a torrent of superiour power. But all their other Kings and Emperors made some addition to the main body of their empire. Unless we may except the Romans, no people ever reached to such a power from so little a beginning;

beginning; but the Ottoman Princes have proceeded by much quicker steps than the Romans did, overrunning a great part of the world in a rapid course. This vast dominion took its rise from Ertogrul, a Prince of the Oguzian tribe, who with no more than 400 men, fixed themselves in a village called Saguta, near the mountain Tmolus in the greater Phrigia. Ottoman the son of Ertogrul began the kingdom about the year 1299. He joined to his small principality almost all Bythinia, and the greatest part of Pontus. Orchan his son took Prusa, where he resided, and got footing into Europe by taking Calipolis and a few other places. Amurath subdued the Thracia Chersonese, he took the city of Adrianople, and vanquished the countries of Servia, and Bulgaria. Bajazet added to his dominions most part of Thrace, Macedon, and Achaia, but himself was overcome by Tamerlane. Mahomet conquered Dacia, part of Sclavonia, and what remained of Macedon. Amurath the II^d took from the Greek Emperor what he held in Achaia, and all Thessaly and Epire. Mahomet the II^d, who of the Ottoman family first took upon him the imperial style, subdued whatever remained to the Greek Emperors, and vanquished what was called the empire of Trapezond. Bajazet the II^d reduced Caramania, and part of Armenia, and took from the Venetians the Morea and their part of Dalmatia. Selimus overthrew the government of the Mamalukes in Egypt, which with Palestine, Syria, and Arabia, he added to his dominions. Solyman seized Rhodes, a great part of Hungary, and reduced to his dominion Babylon, Assyria and Mesopotamia. Other of their Princes have since made some little conquests, but the Ottoman greatness was at its height in the reign of Solyman.

Thus we have seen a very large dominion settled in a short period of time. Ottoman began to reign about 1299; Solyman died in 1566. So that in 267 years the Turks in a manner had mastered what was called the Eastern empire.

Their 6 Kings and 4 first Emperors were all of them men of action and council, and indeed we meet in no story with so long a succession of great and able rulers. From Solyman downwards they have had no martial Prince upon the throne, but Amurath the IVth. If the Ottoman family had not degenerated; if they had not suffered their ancient discipline to be corrupted and lost; and if they had kept up to the rules and principles upon which their government was first founded; in all likelihood they must have had sovereign sway over the whole earth, or at least their territories would have had no other bounds than what they themselves had been pleased to fix.

But both the Ottoman and Spanish monarchies rose too fast to continue long, for the parts that composed those 2 great bodies had not time to cement strongly together; besides, the Turks, as well as the Spaniards, never minded to what degree they dispeopled such dominions as they conquered.

The attempts which the Turks and Spaniards made to erect such unbounded empires, did involve a large part of the world in wars and mischiefs while their power lasted; but they being both declined, let us see whether they have left the field open, for any other nation to set a-foot the same design.

Many provinces must be joined and assimilated to compose one super-eminent dominion. This mighty fabrick stands for a while, till ill conduct, vice and effeminacy have undermined its foundation, then it falls, and out of its ruins another building

building rises, which in time may grow to equal what went before, in strength, extent, symmetry, and height.

For that virtue which at first forms Empire, is never quite extinct, but rather traverses from one region to another. By virtue I do not mean that which is commonly opposed to vice, but by virtue I here understand piety to our country, zeal for its interest or glory, patience under adverse fortune, temper in prosperity, obedience to discipline and the laws, foresight in business, secrecy and firmness in councils, vigour in action, courage, military skill, thirst of honour, magnanimity; and these are the virtues upon which dominion is founded.

These virtues have at times shined in all great nations, and where-ever they prevail most, that country will be so superior as perhaps to overbear the whole, if it has a long succession of wise or warlike Princes, if it be sufficiently stocked with people, if it has its proportion of riches, and if its situation lyes conveniently for Universal Monarchy.

The Ottoman force has visibly impaired for more than a century. Spain, as I have shown, has declined for above 100 years. Germany is cantoned into so many principalities, which are so jealous of their own liberties, and so divided in their own interests, that they can never attempt any considerable matter, being rather an empire for preservation than increase; so that the French seem at present to be a people that have the fairest prospect of erecting such a large empire as has been here described.

The condition of this kingdom was very low till Charles the VIIth had conquered Normandy, and quite expelled the English. First, we had large possessions there. The Duke of Brittany was very

powerful, and the Duke of Burgundy was of himself more than a match for France.

But after the battle of Fourmignie, which was in the year 1450, where we were totally defeated, their affairs began to have a better complexion, and from that time they have been a rising nation.

To model France into such a government as should be capable to oppress its neighbours, and of embracing high designs abroad, there wanted such a Prince as his son Lewis the XIth proved, who did that by policy which other Kings are wont to do by force; for they who will over-run other countries, must first overthrow their own laws; for a powerful nobility and a free people are not easily brought to follow the mad sallies of a Prince's wild ambition. Lewis did weaken and pull down all the great families of France, and made them all dependent upon him, which gave the first rise of a standing army there; and, to complete the work, he so wrought as to get the power of raising what money he pleased upon the people.

His son Charles the VIIIth was indeed a weak Prince, but he did not want courage; and those ill concerted expeditions he made into Italy, did at least tend to render his people warlike; and as his father had by his arts broke the force of the Duke of Burgundy, so he was the means that Britanny came to be united to the French crown.

Charles was succeeded by Lewis the XIIth, a Prince of most excellent virtues, and who began to form the troops of France into that discipline in which they have since so much excelled.

His successor, Francis the Ist, was a compleat hero, and in his days the kingdom was arrived to that pitch of greatness, that if he had not lost the battle of Pavia, according to the best judgment of that age, he had set France much higher than Spain

Spain was during the reign of Charles the Vth. But indeed during the two minorities that followed, of Francis the IIId, and of Charles the IXth, its affairs began again to decline, and the riots and profusion of Henry the IIIId, were capable to sink any kingdom. However, during these 3 reigns, though civil wars raged all the while, yet the power of France went on increasing all along, because the people for the whole time were in action, and inured to war.

After these succeeded a martial Prince, Henry the IVth; and considering what an army he commanded, what a treasure he was then master of, and how capable he was to form and to execute any great enterprize, had he not been cut off by an untimely death, it is not easy to conceive how far he might have extended the arms and honour of his country. In the two next reigns that followed, *viz.* of Lewis the XIIIth, and of the present French King, there were two minorities, which commonly tend to weaken and distract a nation, but France was all the while under a strong government, because, though factions did now and then prevail a little, in the main the reins were held by the unerring and severe hands of Richelieu and Mazarin; and they must be Kings highly qualified indeed, and such as are not seen every age, who know how to rule a people so well as these cardinals did during their administration.

As to the present reign, it is to be wished England had less reason to commend its conduct and wisdom. It is true, no government can be truly called wise, that has any other view but the liberty and happiness of the people; but according to the depraved appetite and policies of mankind, who think power and empire to be what Princes should chiefly aim at, towards compassing these ends the present

present French King seems to have taken all the proper steps thereunto conducing.

He has strongly fortified all the frontiers of his kingdom, he has formed a powerful navy, of which France was never thought capable; he has rendered his whole people warlike, insomuch that he is able to raise 300,000 fighting men; he has brought military discipline to its full perfection, he has put his revenue into so good a method, that he could maintain the expence of such fleets and armies, as were brought against the confederates while the war lasted.

Reckoning from Charles the VIIth's last battle, which restored France, and was gained anno 1450, to this present day, they have been 250 years building up their monarchy, not by hasty victories, but by adding from time to time something to their dominions, and by such slow degrees, as permitted their new acquisitions to be consolidated, and to become of a piece with their ancient territory.

During this time there has been the interposition but of two weak reigns, nor during this time have they felt any great blow, such as the Turks received from Tamerlane, nor have they had any such loss as the Spaniards suffered by the total destruction of their fleet, and by the disappointment of their expedition in 1588. It is true, the battle of Pavia was a wound, but not a mortal one, nor was their force then entirely broken.

Their dominion does not consist of remote provinces, such as are a burden to the head kingdom, and which helped to weaken Spain; nor is it composed of desert and dispeopled countries, as is the Turkish Empire.

Their own kingdom has been all along well stocked with inhabitants, and not dispeopled by wars and invasions, as Spain and all the Ottoman territories

territories had been for many ages. It is true, by their inhuman persecution of the Protestants they have driven away a vast number of their most useful hands, which seems a false step in politicks, unless by this cruel zeal they had a desire to recommend themselves to the bigotted Spaniards; nor is this conjecture improbable, because they have had the succession of that crown so long in view, and considering that in their councils and measures they have ever looked a great way forward.

Some perhaps will object that they are now drained of men by the late famine and sickness, and by a long war, that the crown is very much indebted, and that one face of poverty has spread itself over the whole nation; all which peradventure is true. But their climate is so good and healthy that they will soon be recruited with people. And as to their present debts and poverty, they seem to be in the case of a private man, who has embroiled his whole estate to bring about some great undertaking, in which if he succeeds his fortune is made for ever: so, continual action and high designs, carried on for near 40 years, has no doubt very much impoverished the body of their kingdom; but if they prosper, if they obtain that large empire, perhaps over the whole, to which they have so long aspired, or if they can only annex the Spanish dominions to their crown, they will be richly paid for all their past expences.

It is a melancholy consideration that we can no longer say the house of Austria, the two branches of which preserved the balance of power, and weighed in the scale against France; we must now say the house of Bourbon. With what mischiefs does not the conjunction of two such mighty kingdoms threaten the world? If the French have it not in their will, is it not in their power to oppress
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the whole, especially if both sceptres fall into one hand? In short, by the extent of their territories, the multitude of their inhabitants, by the number and union of their forces, by their discipline, courage, military skill, and lastly, by their ambition, guided by all the rules of wisdom, and upon many more accounts, they seem the people most likely to invade the liberties of Europe.

If by the Duke of Burgundy's dying without issue male, the two crowns should come to be worn by one Prince, he would have (though not for extent of territory) yet for wealth, trade, number of inhabitants, and for power, a larger Empire than the Turks possessed, or than that which Charlemagne erected, to whose whole dominions the French authors affirm their Kings have an undoubted right.

Such a monarchy would be so strong, that all the rest of Christendom would be utterly unable to resist it. This sad prospect has occasioned these papers. And it is to be hoped, all good Englishmen will bend their principal thoughts, and exert their utmost strength, both now and in future times, to prevent the growth of such a power, which may be interrupted in its first settlement; but if it be suffered to fix, it will soon be an over-match either for any single, or indeed for any confederate opposition.

But it may be necessary to examine whether or no there be any real hurt in Universal Monarchy: Some persons have thought not, and that such a posture of the world would conduce to the general peace and welfare of humankind. If so, there is no need by any arguments to excite virtuous men and good patriots to oppose it by their deeds and in their councils.

The Spaniards, while they had it in view, published books to show what good it might produce
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to humankind; and the French, who abound in good wits and able writers, will perhaps do the same, hoping to deceive those by false reasonings, who shall be left unsubdued by force of arms. Pedro Mexia, a Spaniard, in his book intituled *Los Cæsa- res*, speaking of the happy days the Roman people saw under the reigns of the three Emperors who went before Antoninus Pius, as likewise under the government of some of those who succeeded, has expressions to this purpose: “ That in their
“ times the whole earth enjoyed peace and rest;
“ that, notwithstanding their infinite power and
“ numerous forces, justice prevailed every where,
“ and their subjects were in full possession of liber-
“ ty, security, and property; that to their courts
“ resorted all the noble, valiant, and learned men
“ in the universe; that it was matter of great won-
“ der to see what union and friendship there was
“ between different nations, insomuch that a man
“ might have travelled through the world, or the
“ best parts of it safely, and without any fear, all
“ nations looking upon themselves as neighbours,
“ and as it were fellow citizens; there was then no
“ occasion of passports and letters of safe conduct,
“ nor to procure another sort of coin for every
“ region to which your business led you; that then
“ every country had not different laws, travellers
“ were not apprehensive of falling into the hands
“ of enemies, or to be made captives; nor could
“ a malefactor commit a crime in one place, in
“ confidence of finding refuge and protection in
“ another. He that was born in the Orcades, or
“ furthest part of Europe, was at home, though
“ he was in Asia or Africk, and as good a denison
“ as though he had been there born; that mer-
“ chants in that age did not stand in fear of forfei-
“ tures and penalties at every port and place, but
“ might

“ might freely pass with their merchandize without particular licences; and lastly, that the state of mankind in those times was every way full of felicity under the Roman government.”

No doubt this author (who wrote in the time of the Emperor Charles the Vth, and whose historiographer he was) had a mind to insinuate to the world a good opinion of that Universal Monarchy, at which his master was then aiming.

If Mexia were single in this thought, or if the fears were very remote, that such a super-eminent power might once more get footing in the world, it would not be worth the while to refute his notions: but since he has many followers and admirers, and since there are near and cogent reasons to apprehend that a great part of the globe may again fall under the sole dominion of some one Prince, it may not be amiss to say a few words upon this subject.

Which way soever we consider great Empires (whether in their infancy, in their blooming youth, in their manhood and full strength, or in their declining age) we shall find mankind in all these several periods of time afflicted with wars, famine, bloodshed, thralldom, and devastations.

They are brought forth with pangs, and the first exertions of their vigour are destructive to their neighbours. Their strugglings for elbow room are ever bloody, because opinion of equality in forces makes the first contentions obstinate. But their infancy, while they fight under their mothers wing, “ Dum circum ipsam matrem cum finitimis luctantur,” is of all their age the most innocent.

As they spread themselves further, it is still with destruction of others. It is true, their youth is full of courage, heroick ardour, magnanimity, and of all that we call virtuous, while they are in the
early

early chace of glory : but what is this renown they hunt after? Is not the foundation of it laid in battles, sieges, sackings, and those other effects of war, that involve humankind in various sorts of misery?

But when they are come to manhood, or full strength, ruin grows more extensive; they are no longer warmed with the virtuous desire of fame, but inflamed with that wild lust, ambition: they range about for prey wantonly, and not out of hunger; they vex not here and there a city, but lay whole regions waste. They kill of others, or lose themselves, 20, 40, or 100,000 men in one battle; and when they are quite debauched with power, then follow breach of faith, stratagems, circumventions, inobservance of treaties, oppression of their vassals, frauds, perjury, rapes, murders, burnings, and all the other monsters with which the earth is pregnant, after she has engendered with the god of war.

However, when they have subdued the whole, peace and rest to mankind should be expected; but before their robust maturity is quite over, they fall at variance among themselves about the sway of that world which they have conquered; as did Sylla and Marius, Pompey and Cæsar, and afterwards Octavius with Brutus, and Sextus the son of Pompey, and then with Antony; whose quarrels engaged the whole earth, and harassed, wasted, and afflicted Italy, the allies, and the provinces, more than all the wars that had gone before.

But when these great empires arrive to their old and declining age, the diseases contracted for want of action affect and interrupt the peace and felicity of mankind, as much as the furious excursions of their youth and manhood. For be it either in a commonwealth, or in a single person, power never
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gets to a very eminent height, but it runs into all sort of corruptions, and there is rarely any sound health in the body politic, but while it is kept in motion: it is true, good Princes, such as was Augustus, when they have made all things quiet, though it was by force and bloodshed, render the condition of mankind happy as long as their reigns last; but how miserable was the state of the whole earth under the bad Emperors of Rome, who in number did much exceed the good ones.

Augustus did indeed shut the temple of Janus, and when the government of the whole was fixed in a single person, the world was for a while at peace; but how long did that last? did not contending titles soon after cover Italy and the provinces with civil arms? but could any war be so destructive as the cruelty, profusion, lust, riots, and rage of the princes that soon followed?

It is true, there was a seeming peace for a while, and the vulgar and unknown heads were safe; but was there not at the same time an open war proclaimed against virtue, and all virtuous men? were they not every where proscribed, murdered, confiscated, banished or imprisoned?

While this sovereign dominion subsisted, for how long can we say the condition of mankind was happy? This empire, or at least the remains of it, lasted 1228 years; of which the first 711 were a continued state of war; then it fell into a single person: and of the Princes in whom their virtues were more predominant than their vices, the number was but very small; they were Augustus, Galba, Vespasian, Titus, Coccius Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Antoninus Philosophus, Pertinax, Severus, Alexander Severus, Constantin and Theodosius the Great; who all of them in the whole reigned but about 218 years, which were the only
good

good times humankind could be thought to enjoy in the revolution of so many ages.

These great empires are not only oppressive to the race of men while they are fixing, and when they are fixed, but their very dissolution is attended with infinite mischiefs.

When they are come to their decrepid age, they do not, like natural bodies, whom time has weakened and wasted, fall gently, and by insensible degrees. These mighty fabricks, the parts of which were strongly cemented at first, indure many shocks, storms, disasters, and attempts, before they are intirely overthrown.

It was 80 years before Alerich with his Goths, Attila with his Hunns, Genferich with his Vandals, and Odoacer with his Scythians, could subvert the Roman people, during which time they suffered more miseries than they themselves had felt, or than they had made others feel in the whole course of their dominion.

The slaughters, the devastations of the provinces, sackings of cities, and depopulations in Italy, which mankind then saw, are hardly to be numbered; so that while these fierce invaders were heaving at, and subverting a fabric that had stood so long, and whose foundations were so deeply laid, the whole earth was to be in a convulsive motion, and to suffer in its downfal.

But Mexia tells us, that while the world was thus under the rule of a single person, trade flourished: and so perhaps it did, but then it was only in that country which was the principal seat of empire.

For, as we see in particular kingdoms, where there is one great city, it draws to it all the trade; so in a large dominion, composed of several provinces, be it a commonwealth, or a principality,

whatever country is the head of affairs, there will all the traffic center. Thus the Athenians, when by the advice of Themistocles, they were become strong at sea, and when in about 50 years (reckoning from the departure of Xerxes to the beginning of the Peloponnesian war) they were grown to have the chief command over all Greece, they ingrossed all the commerce that was then stirring, and the other cities and islands were but dealers under them. Their navy indeed was the occasion of their greatness, but whatever nation has the chief dominion at land, will in time have the dominion of the seas, and they who are strongest at sea, will have all the trade. Besides, merchants will always resort to countries where they see a big Emporium, a luxurious people, and a pompous court.

While the Roman empire lasted, did not the wealth of the whole universe center in Italy and Rome? were not the subject nations all peeled and plundered to enrich and adorn one city? What could remain after the rapines committed by the Prætors and Proconsuls that were sent to govern the provinces? was there any more left than what would barely give the inhabitants a poor livelihood and serve to pay their tributes? Where trades were beneficial did they not farm them out, as that of the Indies to the people of Alexandria? Other instances might be given of the like nature, and when they came to have bad Princes, was not all the world oppressed with taxes to support their riots and profusion?

Besides, all these great monarchies degenerate into tyranny, with which trade is incompatible.

But Mexia tells us, "That to the courts of the
" Roman Emperors resorted all the noble, valiant
" and learned men in the universe." They had
reason indeed to love men of valour, for without
such

such strong hands to hold them up, they stood upon a very dangerous height, and yet the best of them have been afraid of eminent virtues, and have thought superior merit a high crime. It is true, good Princes now and then forgive gallant generals, that have done them many signal services, they let them live on, retired and neglected; but the bad ones are not at rest till they have cut off all brave and noble spirits: which occasioned Corbulo's friends to wonder why he would seek matter for his glory, and stir up new wars in the reign of Claudius. "Cur hostem conciret? adversa in rempublicam casura: Sin prospere egisset, formidolosam paci, virum insignem, & ignavo principi prægravem." And even the martial Kings and Emperors that have made most bustle in the world, have showered down more favours upon their cabinet flatterers than upon their men of action.

But he would insinuate, that these universal monarchs promoted learning; whereas nothing could be so opposite to their designs. The eloquence that can shew the people how they are injured, and persuade them to seek redress, the piercing judgment which can look into the faults in government, and expose corrupt ministers, good sense, and the virtue which good sense produces, books, science and wisdom, are so many obstacles to the settlement of unbounded power; and therefore Princes who have aimed at it (except now and then some one excellent man, such as was Augustus) have been far from encouraging letters and knowledge: on the contrary, they have endeavoured, as much as in them lay, to extinguish all the lights of nature.

They who would put the world under this form of government, and think thereby to render its condition more safe and easy, must suppose that

none but good Princes shall be upon the throne, which did not happen to the Romans, when they had the choosing of their masters. They were often mistaken in their choice; some had good inclinations, but were corrupted by those about them; in others the seeds of vice and cruelty lay undiscovered, as in Tiberius; others nature had formed well enough, but so much power turned their heads, and made them worse; “*Solusque Vespasianus omnium ante se principum, in melius mutatus est.*” Nor was it better in those great empires that went by succession, for all the royal races that we read of, degenerated in a few years, except that of Ottoman, which kept up to its first vigour for ten generations.

But Mexia would infer, that under the Romans mankind enjoyed rest, because there were not then such frequent wars between nation and nation as now-a-days. It is true, they were restrained by one over-ruling power, at whose pleasure only they were to make war or peace. But the maintenance of such a riotous and expensive court, the payment of so large armies, fleets and numerous garrisons, the oppression by governours and lieutenants of the remote provinces, and the heavy taxes imposed upon such as lay nearer hand, were a greater weight upon the world, than now and then a war could be, and at this time, any country that will patiently endure all this, may be at rest from war.

As the earth is now divided into several kingdoms, principalities and states, between them wars will happen, but the weaker fortify themselves by alliances with the stronger; so that (unless some great oppressor rises up to disturb the world with his ambition) we have many more years of peace than of war; whereas in universal empires every day had its different calamities; while they were
rising

rising they harassed their subjects with perpetual action; when they were grown powerful they ruled them with hard reins; and when they declined, and became weak, they were unable to protect them.

What this Spaniard advances is in part true, "That in those days a malefactor could not commit a crime in one country in confidence of finding protection in another." But at the same time, was not afflicted virtue without any place of refuge? Whither could he retreat who was hated by the ministers, or misrepresented to the Prince? Where could he be safe who was obnoxious for his wealth, for his too much fame, for his high birth, for his sanctity of manners, for his wit, wisdom, or for his valour? Would Germanicus have endured the jealousies of his uncle Tiberius, the insolence of Piso and Plancina? and would he have staid to fall by poison at Antioch, if in any part of the earth he could have lived as became the grandson of Augustus? When any noble Roman was unfortunate, envied or suspected, we do not find he endeavoured to save himself by flight, he chose rather to die by his own hands; because he knew there was no region to which he could retire with safety. Whereas, as the world is now divided into several dominions, he whom tyrants or the instruments of tyranny persecute in one place, may meet with shelter in another, but there is no getting from the reach of Universal Monarchy.

By what has been here said, perhaps it will appear, that this sort of government, if set in a true light, has not such a fair and inviting aspect, as Mexia endeavours to give it. But the bondage it lays upon our bodies, is easy, in comparison to what it would impose upon our minds.

For all who own the same dominion (if force can do it) will be brought to own the same religion, it

is an exercise of power which most Princes think themselves bound in duty to perform: they believe their thrones not safe without it. Even the good Emperors our Spaniard speaks of, endeavoured to make all men of one opinion in religious matters. Trajan raised a persecution against the Christian church. Hadrian forbid the Jews circumcision, upon which there arose a war. There was a persecution of the Christians in the reign of Antoninus Philosophus. But it was rather attributed to Lucius his son-in-law, whom he had made Cæsar, than to him. Afterwards when the Emperors were converted, in their turns, as they were Orthodox or Arian, they strove to unite all their subjects under one and the same belief.

He who aspires to Universal Empire, or who is in possession of it, will always stand in fear of different religions, he will look upon such separations, as so many endeavours to divide his power, he will think the separated members or heretical part, to be a faction formed against him, and that whosoever can put himself at the head of it, may be in a condition even to dispute with him for the dominion of the whole; he will dread the desperate courage and indefatigable industry of a religious army; and for these reasons, the mighty monarchs of the world, for many ages, have pursued with the sword, fire, and halters, such whom either error has withdrawn, or whom the true dictates of conscience have divided from the publick religion of their country.

But here it may be objected, this persecuting spirit has prevailed in little states and dominions as well as in the greater: it is true; however then the afflicted (according to Christ's own direction) may fly from one country to another, they may withdraw while the storm rages, and they may go where they

they cannot be reached by the church's unforgiving hand: but of this benefit mankind will be deprived in Universal Monarchy.

This the Roman catholick clergy have for some years foreseen; and from the time they found themselves attacked, they have endeavoured to restore temporal power to its former height, that their spiritual power might be the more exalted.

If things could be so ordered, that no nation could resist the temporal arm, the spiritual arm might extend itself every where without opposition.

Therefore of late they have used their utmost endeavours, that some one country might have sovereign sway over all the rest: while Spain had the best prospect of it, they promoted the Spanish interest in all the courts of Europe, whose designs they helped on every where, by being their spies, advocates, and intelligencers. It is notorious that the priests, especially the Jesuits (who meddle most in worldly business, and pretend to the deepest reach in policy) were every where of the Spanish faction: but for some years they have forsaken the house of Austria; and now, that the present French King, by his conduct and wisdom, has set that kingdom up so high, they desire to advance him to a more eminent height, they plead his cause, they cabal for him; whatever they can do by working upon the superstition of Princes, or of the people; is in order to his greatness: in short, the catholick clergy are universally on the side and in the interests of France. All which is so obvious to every private man's observation, that it needs not be enforced by any further arguments.

That they are friends to Universal Monarchy, and that they think it their interest to promote it, is apparent enough; but should they gain their point, peradventure it would have other effects than

they imagine; it would perhaps end in the weakening of their whole hierarchy; if not, in all likelihood, it would lessen the papal authority, which must become subservient to the power of such a sovereign Lord, who, may be, would claim a right to nominate Popes, as Charlemagne did, or at least that their election should not be valid without his confirmation, which privilege all the Emperors uninterruptedly enjoyed in the 6th, 7th, and 8th centuries. But these remote fears do not operate upon them, they think the See of Rome founded upon a firm rock, they rely upon the early impression of reverence towards it, with which they take care to imbibe the minds of Kings and Emperors; they therefore desire one man should rule all, in confidence they shall rule him, and indeed there is hardly any Prince, whom they hope not to govern, either by his virtue, or by his vices.

If then the unbounded dominion, to which our neighbours so visibly aspire, involves mankind in the mischiefs we have here reckoned up, if it should put an end to wars, only to introduce what is worse than war, thralldom, poverty and persecution? If it would be a "*Ipsa etiam pace sævum,*" if it brings on calamities, which the valiant will be unable to oppose, and from which the fearful cannot fly, all men who love their country, should do their utmost to intercept the growth and progress of such an empire.

Power is a plant that from a small seed, will grow to a prodigious height, it will draw to its own roots all the nourishment, and it will so spread itself as to overshadow whatever is round about it; it is not difficult to interrupt its beginnings, but when it has attained to its full strength, it is hardly to be shaken; we should contemplate "*primas domini minandi spes in arduo; ubi sis ingressus adeste*"
"studia

“ studia & ministros.” Before a Prince has fully established his dominion common interest may unite his neighbours in a common danger, but if he be suffered to fix himself strongly, fear, interest, and flattery, will intervene: nations will crowd in, and beg they may be admitted to receive his yoke; some will want his protection, some will request his aid, in order to oppress others, some states will perhaps submit, as being careless who has the dominion so they may have the trade and riches; and there is no sort of corruption that will not enter into the hearts of commonwealths, Princes, and their people, when once the virtuous thoughts of defending publick liberty are extinguished: so that a King, who by the cowardice or folly of some of his neighbours, is suffered to become an overmatch for the rest, will in no long course of time have the whole world slaves either to his fortune, or to his power; and if some sparks of virtue and courage remain in any single nation, so as that it should hold out for a while, and desire to preserve natural freedom, it will be left to stand alone, or rather mankind will become so depraved as that all the rest will give their helping hands, and join in its destruction.

With as much brevity as so copious a subject was capable of, I have here described some of the great Empires that have been hitherto erected; I have shewn what calamities the unbounded ambition of desiring to engross the whole, has brought upon humankind; and I have done it with this intention that the young nobility and gentry of England, to whom these papers are directed, by having a short view before them of past times, may be the better able to form a judgment of the future.

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THE Author did not at first think of inserting the following Appendix, for fear of swelling this book to too large a bulk; but he has since considered, that having in the Essay upon War, Peace and Alliances, gone against the received opinion and common doctrine, he is obliged to produce his authorities. The Records are very curious, and contain many things that will be a light to history: they who give themselves the trouble to read them, will find many precedents, which for brevity sake, were omitted in the Essay. All the said Records have been carefully examined by the Author at the Tower.

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T H E
A P P E N D I X.

* **P**UR ceo qe le Roi ne doit imprendre fait de guerre contre nully, ne alier hos de son roiaulm, faunz commun assent de son baronage pur moult des perils qe purrount avenir a lui & a son roiaulm; nous ordeignons, qe le roi deformes ne aille hors de son roiaulm, nenprenge contre nully fait de guerre sans commun assent de son baronage, & ceo en parlement; & si autrement le face, & si sur cele emprise face semoundre son service, soit la semounce per nul; & si aveign qe le Roi empreign fait de guerre contre nully ou aille hors de terre per assent de son dit baronage & besoign qil mette gardien en son roiaulm, dunt le mette per commun assent de son baronage & ceo en parlement.

† **I**TEM en dit parlement si demanda le dit Evesqe de Wyncestre Chancellor de per nostre Seigneur le Roi en sa presence de Lercevesqe de Cantebier & de tous les autres Prelatz Countes Barouns & autre Grantz du roiaulm illoques esteantz, lur concealx & avis lequel il lur sembleroit miex, qe

* Rot. ord. 5 Edw. 2. N. 9.

† Rot. parl. 5 Edw. 3. N. 3.

nostre Seigneur le Roi d'Engleterre y prest voie de proces od le Roi de France des busoignes per entre eux en manere comme le dit Roi de France avoit premis Cestassaver qe le dit Roi d'Engleterre eslirroit sis sept ou oyt des Peres de France queux il vorreit & qe ceux sis sept ou oyt trettaient de jour en jour tantqe au fyn, & ce qils accorderent & ordinereint le Roi de France perferroit en voie de amiable trette per alliance de mariage ou le guerre. Les queux Prelatz Countes Barouns & autres Grantz respondirent & conseillèrent pur le mielx uniement & checun pur lui severallement eant regard as perils qe poient avenir per les deux voies cestassaver d'entrer en proces ou la guerre qe nostre Seignetur le Roi d'Engleterre y prest amiable trette od le Roi de France des busoignes fust dites & pour ce qe avis fust as touz qil ne seroit mie bien qe la manere de cele trette fust trop public einz tenu ferre, si demanda let dit Chancellor de per nostre dit Seigneur le Roi de touz les Prelatz & autres Grantz fust dites queux ils vouloient & conseillèrent qe trettaient des dites busoignes; a qoy touz les Prelatz & autres Grantz respondirent qe nostre Seigneur le Roi y nomast & esleut tieux come il sembloit qe bons feussient a tretter. Et sur ce nostre Seigneur le Roi noma Lercevesqe de Canterbiers, le Chancellor & Tresorer, les Evesques d'Ely & de Wircestre les Countes Mareschal & de Garenne, Monsieur Henry de Beaumont, Monsieur Henry de Percy, Monsieur Hugh de Courtney, Monsieur Jeffrey Lescrop, Monsieur William de Herle, Monsieur Johan de Stonore & Monsieur Johan de Cantabrigge, ceux pris a eux tielx come il pleroit a nostre Seigneur le Roi trettaient des busoignes od le Roi de France come desus est dit. Et en mesme le parlement si fust accorde pur le mielx per nostre Seigneur le Roi & les ditz Ercevesques Countes &

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Barouns & autres Grantz effuz a trette come fus est dit qen totes maneres continuance se face de per nostre Seigneur le Roi d'Engleterre de amiable trette per voie de mariage ou en autre covenable manere ovesqe le Roi de France pur restitution avoir de la terre de Agenys & le droit de la corone sauver & qe maundez soient au dit Roi de France pur treter en amiable manere sur les dites busoignes come fus est dit les Evesques de Wyncestre & Wyrcestre & Norwys deux ou un de eux solone ce qil plerra a nostre Seigneur le Roi d'Engleterre & auxint le Seigneur de Beaumont de Percy & de Montagu Monsieur Jeffrey Lescrop & Maistre Johan de Shordick.

* Quant as busoignes touchantes la terre d'Irland si est accordé per nostre Seigneur le Roi Prelatz Countes & Barouns & autres Grantz en mesme le parlement, qe nostre Seigneur le Roi sapparaille d'aller a mesmes les parties d'Irland a plus tost qe bonnement purra & qe nostre Seigneur le Roi mande endementiers aucuns Grantz & fiabies de son roiaulm od poer des gentz d'armes as dites parties en aide de la justice & des autres liges gentz le Roi illoques a faire le bien qils purront contre les contraireantz, Et purce que grantz malx sont ave-nuz einz ces heures en la dite terre d'Irland pur ce qe les Grantz du roiaulm qont terres en ycelle ont baille la garde de mesmes lur terres as gentz meins couvenables & meins suffisantz a ce qe le Roi ad entendu si est accorde per le Roi & per tot son conseil en mesme le parlement qe les ditz Grantz qont terres en mesme la terre d'Irland facent garder au peril qappent lur terres illoques per si couvenables & si suffisantz gentz qe mal ny a veigne per lur defaute. Et sur ce soient briefs mandez as ditz grantz eanz terres en

* Rot. ibidem. N. 4.

Ireland defaire ce qest accorde soient auxi briefs mandez as tous les Viscountes d'Engleterre de crier qe touz ceux qont terres en Irland les facent garder come est dit au peril quappent.

* **E**T puis en plein parlement, si fust prononcie per le dit Ercevesqe en fourme de predication en la presence nostre Seigneur le Roi & destouz les prelatz & autres Grantz la cause par qele le parlement estoit somons. Et auxint per l'Evesqe de Wyncestre Chancellor en fourme de predication coment le Roi de France avoit ordine son aler devers la terre sainte ore en martz en deux ans prechein avenir & qe molt luy plerroit d'aver la compignie nostre Seigneur le Roi d'Engleterre en ce voiage entendant per tant affaire meilour exploite sur les ennemys Dieu & a ce faire avoit il requis nostre Seigneur le Roi d'Engleterre per ses lettres & auxint per ses messages Et ce fust l'encheson pur qoi se parlement feust summons & sur ce demanda il deper nostre Seigneur le Roi les concealx & avys des Prelatz Countes Barouns & de touz les autres Grantz en plein parlement.

† Et quant al aler de nostre Seigneur le Roi en la terre sainte, les Prelatz Countes Barouns & touz les autres somons a mesme le parlement loerunt molt le bon purpos & la bon volunte qe le nostre Seigneur le Roi ad dy aler, mes il lour sembloit qe le temps dy aler ore en Martz a deux ans si est trop court pur plusours raisons; Et est assentu & accordé en plein parlement qil preigne son aler a la Purification prechein avenir en troize ans mes Avys est a touz qe si les deux Rois preigneur lur voiage ensemble qe par

* Rot. Parl. 6 Edw. 3. pars 1. n. 5.

† Ibid. n. 9.

tant le dit voiage seroit le plus honorable & plus profitable l'aide de Dieux, si est accorde & assentu per touz en plein parlement qe si avis soit a nostre Seigneur le Roi per son bon conseil & qil soit purveu dy aler & enstat & qil se peust bonement faire & per trette od le Roi de France homme puisse esloigner ou encourcer le temps come le preigne.

† Item feust pronuncie deper nostre seigneur le Roi per la Bouche Monsieur Jeffrey Lescrop coment autres fois au darrein parlement somons a Westminster l'an quynt accorde fu qe sur les debatz muez perentre nostre seigneur le Roi & le Roi de France en droit des terres per de la qe continuaunce se fait per trette per voie de mariage ou en autre couvenable manere & sur ce nostre Seigneur le Roi d'Engleterre avoit mandé ses messages au Roi de France les queux ont trette ovesqe le dit Roi de France & ont reporté a nostre dit Seigneur le Roi qe le Roi de France ad dit, qe sil pleist a nostre Seigneur le Roi d'Engleterre de venir od luy personnellement qil fera plus de grace a luy qe a nul autre, pur qoy il busoign de mander per temps messages a lavant dit Roi de France. Et sur ce demanda le dit Monsieur Jeffrey deper nostre Seigneur le Roi les consealz & avys des dits Prelatz Countes & Barouns & autres Grantz en plein Parlement qen cas qe les di's messages ore a mander ou dit Roi de France remandent a nostre dit Seigneur le Roi d'Engleterre qe per sa venue les busoignes se puissent amander, sil en doit prendre le dit voyage vers le dit Roi de France ou nemie. A qoi touz les Prelatz Countes & Barouns & autres Grantz fufdits ont respondu quils se assentent bien qe l'empeschement oulté des fufdites malveyes

† Ibid. m. 10.

issint ore levez & le Roi d'Engleterre en puisse avir profit per son aler en propre personne au Roi de France come fus est dit & qe per tant la busoigne se puisse amander qil y aille & auxint est assentu per aucunes enchesons qe le aler nostre Seigneur le Roi en Irland nadgaires assentu au prechein parlement preigne delay tant qe a la feste de St. Michel prechein avenir, et qe endimentiers nostre Seigneur le Roi mande aucunes gentz d'armes & autres qe legiers sont en pernanz & traveillantz a les parties fudites en aide des ses bons gentz illoques.

* A quen jour estoit pronuncie per l'Evesqe de Wyncestre Chancellor nostre Seigneur le Roi la cause pur qele le parlement fust somons cestassaver pur les busoignes touchantes la terre d'Irland devers la qele terre le Roi avoit ordine son passage pur refreindre od l'aid de Dieux la malice de ses rebelx & enemys illoques qi avoient occupez & de jour en autre occuperent ses terres chastielx & manoirs & de ses lieges gentz illoques en destruant si avant come en eux feust mesme les liges, et sur ce furent les Prelatz Countes Barouns & autres Grantz du parlement chargez en lur legeances de conseiller sur la feurance de la terre d'Engleterre. Les queux Prelatz & autres Grantz demenderent temps davisier tant qa Joedy prechein suant cestassaver le second jour de parlement & puismesme le jour furent les articles sous escriptz luez & assentuz devant le Roi & de touz les Grantz en mesme le Parlement, &c.

† A quen jour de Joedy en euent trette & deliberation; cestassaver les ditz Prelatz per eux mesmes & les ditz Countes Barouns & autres Grantz per eux mesmes & auxint les Chevelers de Countes per eux mesmes; si respondirent qils avoient grant

* Rot. ibid. pars 2. n. 1.

† Ibid. n. 3.

consideration as noveles qe de jour en autre viendrent des parties d'Escocce & as perils qepoient de leger avenir au roiaulm d'Engleterre & au poeple le Roi per la absence du Roi hors du roiaulm en cas qe la pees nadgaires faite entre les roiaulms d'Engleterre & d'Escocce feust rompue. Et conseillèrent pur le mielx qe nostre Seigneur le Roi demorast en Engleterre & retreiffist devers les parties de north & qil eust ovesqe lui sages gentz & forcibles pur sauuation du dit roiaulm & de son poeple en cas qe les gentz d'Escocce ou autres y voleient entrer pur mal faire. Et auxint conseillèrent qe le Roi y mandast forcibles gentz & sages as parties d'Ireland, & auxint d'argent en eide de ses liges gentz illoques, &c.

† Et comment le Roi ottreiant lur conseilx si est venuz & coment puis pur autres noveles qe lui vindrent a Everwicke des dites parties d'Escocce de ce qe Edward Baillof se avoit fait coroner Roi d'Escocce. Per le Roi & per son conseil adonques illoques assemblez le Roi avoit fait semondre a ore son parlement a Everwicke & qe la cause du somons estoit qe nostre Seigneur le Roi voleit aver les conseilx de ses bons gentz & liges de son roiaulm Prelatz & autres le quel il se devoit trere vers Escocce en clamant le demeigne de meisme la terre ou de soi faire partie a prendre l'avantage daver en service comme ses ancestres avoient, ou la value. Et sur ce chargea nostre Seigneur le Roi per la bouche le dit Monsieur Jeffrey en plein parlement meisme le marsdy les Prelatz Countes Barouns, & autres Grantz & les Chevalers des Countees & gentz de la commune qe eu regard a l'honneur & profit de luy & son roiaulm, & a ce qe au temps de la pees fait nadgaires perentre les gentz d'Engleterre & les

† Rot. ibid. p. 3. n. 1.

gentz d'Escoce qil estoit deinz age & ne mie de son propre poer einz mesme per autres. Lui conseillassent & donassent lour avys & qils eussent auxint regard a ce qe launcestre le Baillof forfit encountre lael nostre Seigneur le Roi qore est. Les queux Prelatz od la Clergie per eux mesmes & les Countees & Barouns per eux mesmes & Chevalers & gentz des counteez & gentz de la commune per eux mesmes ent treterent & conseillerent tantqe a vendredy prechein suant. Et mesme le vendredy en plein parlement les Prelatz per eux mesmes & les Countez & Barouns per eux mesmes & les Chivalers des counteez per eux mesmes & puis touz en comune respondirent. Qe en si grande & chargeante busoigne, & si pres touchante le Roi sont poeple & sont roiaulm ne oseint ne faveint conseiller sans lavys des Prelatz des queux forsque trois cestassaver Lercevesqe d'Everwicke les Evesques de Nichole & de Kardoil, les Abbees d'Everwicke & de Seleby estoient venuz & des autres Grants du roiaulm qe adonques ne feurent pas venuz. Et sur ce requisrent nostre Seigneur le Roi quil vousist continuer mesme le parlement tanqe as utaves de seinte Hiller prechein avenir destre adonques a mesme lieu d'Everwicke & mander chargeablement as Prelatz, &c.——La quele requeste nostre Seigneur le Roi otteia, &c.

† Les queux treterent de mesmes les busoignes come sus est dit, du dit Joedy tantqe a Marsdy prechein suant & mesme le Marsdy, si pronuncia l'Evesqe de Wyncestre Chancellor, en la presence nostre Seigneur le Roi & de tous les Grantz en plein parlement, coment les dits Prelatz & Grantz & Chevalers des counteez & gentz de comune avoient trete od grand diligence & deliberation come ac.

† Rot. ibid. pars 4. n. 7.

corde fu, dont nostre Seigneur le Roi les mercia molt & coment adonques ne pas pleinement accorde ceo qe le Roi devoit fair des mesmes les busoignes & qe le Roi voleit prendre lavys du Pape, & auxint du Roi de France leqel lui avoit mandé ses lettres sur ascunes choses touchant mesmes les busoignes, & outre per l'avys de eux & d'autres faire ce qil deveroit a son honour, al eide de Dieux. Et auxint pronuncie le dit Chancellor qe le Roi voleit ordiner gardens sur la marche, & qil voleit aver pres de lui sages gentz de son roialme, qe lui pœint conseiller en ses busoignes qant il ent avereit Mester, cestassaver Lercevesqe d'Everwicke l'Evesqe de Norwiz le Seigneur de Percy, Monsieur William de Clynton, Monsieur William de Donun, & William de Shareshall, &c.

* **E**T puis furent purposez les causes de la summons de cest parlement, & monstrees as Grantz & a ceux de la commune pur ent avoir leur consealx & leur avys qe ent feroit mieux a faire. Et furent trois causes purposez dont le primer fu qe checun grant & petit endroit soi penseroit la manere coment la peez deinz la roialme purroit mieutz & se deveroit plus seurement estre gardee. La second cause coment la marche d'Escocce & la terre devers le north purroit mieutz estre gardee & defendu des ennemys d'Escocce. La tierce cause coment la meer ferroit gardee des ennemys quilz ne feissent damage, ne entraissent le roialme pur destruire le.

† **P**Rimerement leur estoit dit coment nostre Seigneur le Roi avant son darrein departir d'Engleterre per la reson qil entendre davoire affaire

* Rot. Parl. 13 Edw. III. pars 1. n. 3. † Rot. Parl. 14 Edw. III. pars 2. n. 2.

de ses ennemys qe furent sur meer devant luy & il ne poeit favoire en certeine ce qe aviendroit a lui & as soens qe passerent devers ses ditz ennemys en sa compaignie, si avoit il de semondre ce parlement pur assembler les Grantz & autres des communes a mesme parlement, si qils feussent prest de trette & ordeyner sur les choses qe aviendroient a lui & as soens & auxint de trette sur la garde de la pees de terre & de la marche d'Escoce & de la meer & puis pur prendre conseil & assent comient & en qele manere, &c.

* **P**Rimerement fu touchez qe la foveraigne & principale cause est de treter & conseiller od les Grantz & communes de roialme ce qe fera mieultz affaire sur les choses touchantes nostre Seigneur le Roi en droit de les trues prises en Bretayne entre luy & son adversaire de France & puis apres des choses qe touchent l estat de nostre Seigneur le Roi & le gouvernement & la salvete de sa terre d'Engleterre & de son poeple & relevation de lour estat.

Mes pur ce qe Monsieur Barthelmewe de burghresh qi fu ovesqe nostre Seigneur le Roi en Bretayne a la prise de les darreines trewes favera mieultz purposer comient les busoignes sont alleez illoques qe le Chancellor, si fu commandez per nostre Seigneur le Roi au dit Monsieur Barthelmewe de purposer la manere de la prise des dites trewes.

† Et le dit Monsieur Barthelmewe commença de raconter la manere come nostre Seigneur le Roi apres ce quil avoit empris la guerre de France per assent des Prelatz Grantz & comunes de son roialme d'Engleterre pur ses droits & heritages illoques

* Rot. Parl. 17 Edw. III. n. 7.

† N. 8.

conquer avoit plufieurs foitz paffez la meer ove fon
 hofst & quel exploit il y avoit eu & coment qe apres
 fon darreine paffage od fon hofst en Bretayne il avoit
 chivauche grante partie de la dutchee de Bretayne
 & od le'eide de Dieux pris villes chatelx & force-
 lettes tant qil vient a la cittee de Vanez ou il per
 avys des Grantz qi furent pres de lui mist fiege,
 il fu requis per le Seinte Pierre le Pape qe a la
 reverence de Dieux & de feinte esglise & pur le
 prier du dit feinte Pierre le Pape qi lui envoya deux
 Cardinalx per bien de pees & pur monftrer a nostre
 Seigneur le Roi ce qils avoient en charge de la
 court de Rome touchant celle bufoigne & pur
 eschuer les malx qe font avenuz & venant de jour
 en autre per la guerre il se voufit affentier a pees
 ou as trewes deinz lez queux trettez de pees se
 purroit faire, & coment nostre Seigneur le Roi
 apperceivant qe la fourme de celles trewes fu
 honorable & profitable a lui & as foens assenti as
 dites trewes au fin qe durantes celles trewes trette
 de pees se ferroit devant la dite Pape come meen
 amy & non pas come juge ne compromessaire & en
 cas qil purroit aver bone pees & honorable pur
 lui qil le pendroit, & si ce non qil purfueroit sa
 qerele come devant. Et dist outre le dit Monsieur
 Barthelmewe de per nostre Seigneur le Roi qe per
 cause qe ceste guerre fu emprise & commencee per
 comun assent des dites Prelatz Grantz & comunes
 le Roi ne voleit treter de pees faire ne pees prendre
 fans lour comune assent. Pur qoy le dits Prelatz
 & Grantz furent chargez de asssembler per eux en la
 chambre blaunche yce Ioedy le primer jour de May
 pur treter conseiller & assentir entre eux si nostre
 Seigneur le Roi deveroit envoyer messages a la court
 de Rome pur mounftrer & purposer ses droitz illo-
 ques devant le dit feinte Piere le Pape come dessus
 est dit ou nemie & en mesme le manere furent
 chargez

chargez les Chivalers des countees & comunes de assembler en la chambre depeincte & de treter conseiller & assentir entre eux sur mesme la busoigne & de rapporter leur responce & leur assent en dit parlement le dit Ioedy.

* A quen jour les ditz Prelatz & Grantz assemblez en la chambre blanche responderent que leur fust avys que les dites trewes estoient honorables & profitables a nostre Seigneur le Roi & a touz les soens & que chescun Christien deveroit voler que la guerre qest si grande & si nosente a touz Christiens fust pees & finie en bone & couvenable manere. Per qoy les ditz Prelats & Grantz pur eux saccorderent & assenterent que les dites trewes se tenissent solonc la fourme & l'effect dicelles & que certaines & solempnes Messages soient mandez a la court de Rome pur monstrier & purposer devant le Seinte Piere le Pape come devant meen amye & noupas come juge, ne come compromissair les droits nostre Seigneur le Roi sur les challenges & de treter outre de la pees solonc la fourme des dites trewes. Et puis vinderent les Chivalers des Countees & les comunes & responderent per Monsieur William Trussel en la dite chambre blanche qi en presence de nostre Seigneur le Roi & des ditz Prelatz & Grantz purposa pur les Chivalers & comunes qils se font pleinment ascentuz & accordez a les dites trewes tenir ausin que bon & honorable pees se preigne & prierent outre les dits communes, que nostre Seigneur le Roi envoiait solempnes messages pur purposer ses droits & treter de la pees come dessus est dit; et en cas que nostre Seigneur le Roi purra avoir honorable pees & profitable pur lui & pur les soens, qil condescendrait a la dite pees avoir, & in cas qil ne la purra mye aver, les dites comunes granteront de lui eider & meintener sa qerele ove tote leur poair,

* Ibid. n. 9.

— * **A**U qen Ioedy en presence de nostre Seigneur le Roi & de Monsieur son fitz le Prince de Gales & du dit Ercevesqe & les Evesques de Loundres, Cicestre, Cestre, Baa, Sarum, Nichole, Cardeil & Leslit de Hereford & des Abbees de Westminstre & de Reding & Priours de Coventry & de Rouchestre, & auxint des Countes de Northampton, Warrewic, Oxon, Pembroc, Suffolc, Huntingdon, Devonshire, & Anegos, & des Seigneurs de Wake, Percy, Berkele, Monsieur Hugh d'Espencer, Monsieur Rauf de Nevil & autres Barouns, & Bannerettz, Chivalers des countees, citeyns des citees, & burgeys des bourgs, summons au dit parlement furent purposez les causes de summons de mesme le parlement, per le dit Chancellor per commandement du Roi en la fourme qe sensuit; Cestassaver, Seigneurs en les trewes prises accordez & affirmez per serement en Bretagne entre autres pointz est accordez qe les trewes soient gardez en Bretaigne entre les Rois & lour adherantz tut eussent ils droit en la Dutchee, &c.

† — Purqoi nostre Seigneur le Roi pria & chargea les dits Prelatz Countes & Barouns & communes qils considerez les choses sus dites ils voient mettre l'eide & le conseil qe affiert en sauvation des droitz & del honour nostre Seigneur le Roi & de eux & meismes. Les quex choses reciteez per le dit Ercevesqe oieez & entenduz, les Prelatz Countes Barouns, & les autres des communes prièrent davoit ent deliberation tanqe a Lundy prechein suant & de mesme le Lundy pur ce qils na'voient mie adonques pris pleinement deliberation, de jour en jour tanqe au Meskerdy en la veille de Saint Johan ‡. Au qen jour le dit Ercevesqe, les Evesques de Londres, Cestre, Cicestre, Baa, Ely,

* Rot. Parl. 18 Edw. 3. n. 6.

† Ibid. n. 7.

‡ N. 8.

Sarum,

Sarum, Nichole, Cardoil & les lit de Hereford, les Abbees de Seint Aubon, Westminstre, Abingdon, Waltham, Reding, Labbe del Hide de Wincestre & le Priour de Coventre, les Countes de Northampton, Warrewic, Hutingdon, Suffolc, Oxon, Pembroc, Devonshire, & Anegos, les Seigneurs de Wake, Percy, Berkele, Monsieur Rauf de Nevil, Monsieur Hugh Despenfer, & Monsieur Nichol de Cantelowe & les communes du roialme assemblez en la chambre blanche en la presence nostre Seigneur le Roi, eantz regard as grantz mescheifs & perils qe purront avenir a nostre Seigneur le Roi & a touz ses fuggitz & alliez si la malice de son dit adversaire ne soit arrestuz, et considerantz les grantz charges qe les grantz & les communes d'Engleterre ont eu & soeffiert per cause de la guerre qi ad durez si longement per seyintes trewes & soeffirances qont este prizez einz ces heures, & veantz overtement, qe si fyn de ceste guerre en bone pees se deveroient prendre, ce ne poet estre sanz, grant force des gentz & grant poair, si prierent toutz d'un assent & chescun singulere persone des Grantz a per luy, a nostre dit Seigneur le Roi qil voulist faire fyne de ceste guerre ou per bataille ou per pees convenable fil la purra avoir & qe a qele heure qe nostre Seigneur le Roi sera prest & appareillez de passer pur prendre ce qe Dieux lui durra sur lesploit de ceste busoigne, qe pur lettres n'autres mandementz ne priere du Pape ne dautry il ne lest son voiage tanqe il eit fait fyn en une manere ou en autre.

A qele priere le Roi ottoia pleinement, † mes purce qe ceste chose ne se purra faire sanz grant eide, & convenable si granterent per ceste cause, &c.

† Ibid. n. 9.

* **A**Qen jour furent les causes du parlement purposez per Monsieur William de Thorp en la presence nostre Seigneur le Roi & des Prelatz Countes Barouns & comunes du roialme illoeqs assemblez ; et furent deux causes touchantes especialement nostre Seigneur le Roi & tout le roialme d'Engleterre. Cestassaver l'une cause de la guerre qele nostre Seigneur le Roi ad empris contre son adversaire de France per comun assent de toutz les Grantz & communes de sa terre, fuscite en diverses parlements qi dunt este cea en arrere, come souvent foitz ad esté rehercez comment ent sera fait au temps de la trewe qore est ferra finie l'autre cause de la pees d'Engleterre, coment & en qele manere ell se purra mieutz garder ; & sur ce fut commandez as Chivalers des countees & autres des communes qils se deveroient trere ensemble, & se qils ent sentiroient, le deveroient monstrier au Roi & as Grantz de son conseil ; les queux Chivalers & autres des comunes eu ent avysement per qatres jours au drein respondirent al article touchant la guerre en la manere qe sensuit.

† Tres redoutz Seigneur, qant a vostre guerre & l'arraie dicelle, nous fumes si mesconizantz & simples qe nous ne favons ne poions ent conseiller ; degen nous prions a vostre gratiouse Seignourie nous avoir del ordenaunce pur excusez & qe vous pleise per avys des Grantz & Sages de vostre conseil ordener sur cell poient ceo qe mieutz vous semblera pur honour & profit de vous & de vostre roialme ; et ceo qe ferra ensi ordenez per assent & accorde de vous & des Grantz fuscits, nous nous assentons bien, & la tendrons ferme & estable.

‡ Item prie la commune des countees qe come commission vient d'enquere de tous yceux qi avoient cent foulez de terre xl. de terre xxl. de

* Rot. Parl. 21 Ed. 3. n. 4.
ib. n. 44.

† Ibid. n. 5. ‡ Rot.

terre xli. de terre & outre tange a mil. marchées surquoi enquestes furent ove grante diligence permieltz vaneez des countees a ce jurez & retournez en la chancellerie ne mie purce breif del eschequer vient de lever d'ascuns le double d'ascuns le treble de ce qe feust trouvez per bones enquestes pur archiers, hobelours & gentz d'armes a grante destruction & empoverissement d'ascuns & en contre la leie de la terre & auxi breif vient de lever d'ascuns petites villes qi ne sont citees ne burgs xx marcz xx l. de volente faunz nulle manere de proces; dont la dite commune prie pur Dieu remédie de si come nostre dit Seigneur le Roi ad premys de sa bone grace de faire droit as tous yceux qe pleindre se voudront.

Resp. Si nulle tiele imposition feust faite per grante necessitee & ce ove l'assent des Countes Barouns & autres Grantz & ascuns des communes adonques presentz nientmeyns nostre Seigneur le Roi ne voet qe tiele imposition noun duement soit trait en consquence.

—† **P**urquoi tut adiprimes nostre Seigneur le Roi mercie molt a ses communes des eides qils lui ont faits de leur bone volonte qil ad totes foits trove en eux & se ent loe molt & les prie qils se voillent avyser sur les dites choses tanqe a cest Meskerdy prechein suant & qils soient mesme le Meskerdy a Westminstre en la chambre de peincte, toulte apres le soliel lever pur ent aver deliberation & doier si nostre dit Seigneur le Roi les vorra plus monstrier touchant la cause de son parlement avant dit, & de monstrier a nostre Seignour le Roi leur grivances si nulles y soient dont busoigne de faire remédie en cest parlement.

† Rot. Parl. 25 Edw. 3. pars 2. n. 7.

* Apres ceux choses issint monstrez le dit Sire William chargea les communes deper le Roi qe pur abreger lour demoere en la ville & auxint pur hastif exploit fair des dites busoignes, & dautres qe les feroient monstrez deper le Roi qil deveroient asssembler en une place devant lour departier de Westminstre & eslire xxiiij ou xxx personnes de eux touz ceux vendroient a landemayn en la dite chambre depeincte a nostre Seigneur le Roi y mendroit a eux ascunes des Grantz d'aver parlaunce ovesqe eux des busoignes avant dites ; et qe le remenant des communes se trehissent el chapitre de Westminstre, si qe ceux xxx ou xxiiij perones issint esluez entendue celle parlance des Grantz la devoroient nuncier a lour compaignons de la commune & qe apres deliberation ent eve entre touz les communes, & de commune accorde en faite, relation puisse estre faite a nostre Seigneur le Roi, de ceo qe ferra per eux assentuz & accordez des busoignes avant dites ; et puis au Vendredy prechein suant viendrent totes les communes devaunt le Prince & les autres Grantz dans la chambre blaunche ou feust dit per Monsieur Barthelemewe de Burghershe chamberleyn nostre Seigneur le Roi, la malice & la fauxine de son adversaire de Fraunce & coment, puis les trewes darreinement prises & accordez le dit adversaire les ad de bruse ore de novel overtement sur la meer & devers Gascoigne, Bretaigne, & les parties des Caley & s'afforce per totes les sotiltees & ymaginations qil & son conseil faveront de grever nostre Seigneur le Roi & ses subgits totes partz, et qe sur ceo les dites communes se deveroient diligeaument avyser de ceo qe lour semblera qe seroit mieutz a faire pur nostre Seigneur le Roi d'arester la malice & la fauxine avant dites pur salvation de lui, & de son roialme & de touz ses subgits ; et maintenant

* Rot. Parl. 25 Edw. 3. pars 2. n. 8.

apres

apres celle monstrence, le dit Seigneur William dist as dites communes qe fil avoient nulles petitions des greivances, &c.

* Et puis apres long treté & deliberation eves per les communes ove la communaltee, & l'avys dascuns des Grantz a eux envoiez si bien fur une eide qe covendroit a nostre Seigneur le Roi de contresteer la malice de son dit adverfaire, &c.

† **Q**UANT a la seconde cause du dit somons, fust dit coment per reson de la guerre entre nostre Seigneur le Roi & son adverfaire de France grandes costages avoient esté faites & damages & perils sans nombre ent avenuz a lui & tot son poeple dont il ad tres grant compassion; & coment au darrein conseil lour fust monstre qe pur eschuir tiels damages costatages & perils come pres le Roi de son movement de mesne sans autre conseil severroit prendre & agree au fyn qe la pees se purra reformer entre lui & son dit adverfaire & auxint les offres & demaundes d'une part & d'autre & coment sovent devant cel temps le Roi avoit envoie ses messages des plus nobles & des plus grantz de son roialme as parties de dela de treter oves les messages son dit adverfaire, de quen trete homme lour monstra plus a plein devant lour departir du parlement.

‡ Et apres les dites petitions leves, & responses ent donnez, si fust monstre per Monsieur Bartholomewe de Burghershe chaumberleyn le Roi a les Grantz & communes illoeqes presantes coment traitee y avoit este entre les messages nostre Seigneur le Roi & de son dit adverfaire de France, & coment y avoit bone espoir de issue final & greable ové

* Ibid. n. 9.

† Rot. Parl. 28 Edw. 3. n. 2.

‡ Ib. n. 58.

l'eide de Dieu, quel issue nostre Seigneur le Roi ne voet prendre sanz assent des Grantz & de ses communes; perqoy le dit chamberleyn enqist & demandue de per nostre dit Seigneur le Roi des dits Grantz & communes fils vorroient assentir & accorder a la pees en cas qe homme purroit attendre de là avoir per treete & accorde des parties; a qoy les dites communes d'un assent & d'un accord respondirent qe quel issue qe pleust a nostre dit Seigneur le Roi & les Grantz de prendre du dit treete, feust agreable a eux; sur qen responce dist le chamberleyn a les dites communes, donques vous voillez assentir au treete de pees perpetuele; si home le puisse avoir? Et les dites communes respondirent entierement & uniement, oil, oil, surqoy feust commandè per Mestre Michel de Nothberg gardein du privy seal nostre Seigneur le Roi a Sir Johan de Swynleye, notair papal, qil eut ferroit instrument public:

—***F**UST dit per Monsieur William de Shreshul chief justice nostre Seigneur le Roi, qil plust a nostre Seigneur qe la cause du somons du dit parlement soit monstre overtment a totes gentz per Monsieur Wauter de Manny, qi avoit pleine conufance de tout la fait touchant la cause du dit somons. † Et apres le dit Monsieur Wauter commença monstre coment nostre Seigneur le Roi envoya nadgaires ses solempnes messages a Caleys de treete sur la pees ove les messages son adversaire de Fraunce en presence du Cardinal de Boloigne qi y vint per celle cause, del ordinance nostre Seinte Pier le Pape, & apres le dit treete en certains pointz ent accordez, nostre Seigneur

* Rot. Parl. 29 Edw. 3. n. 4.

† N. 5.

le Roi, juxt l'acord pris entre les messages envoya le Duc de Lancastre & autres ses messages a la court de Rome pur accomplir & finalement pourfourmir en presence nostre dit Sainte Pier les choses issint devant tretees, queles ne purroient prendre exploit solonc le dit accord pur defaute & coupe trouuee de part son dit adversaire. † Et durante la demeere des dits messages a la court per la dit cause, si vient le Roi de Navarre souvent aus dit Ducs se compleignant des greivances tortes & duresses qil avoit soeffert du Roi de Fraunce afferment, & per serment affiant, qil feroit volentiers alliance ove nostre Seigneur le Roi contre son dit adversair ove tout son poair & tant empresse le dit Ducs par ses soviers parliaunces, que le Ducs lui promist que l'alliaunce se prendroit, sil pleust a nostre dit Seigneur, & que sur ceo il sappareillerent si enforcement come il purroit & des gentz & de navie, & si viendrait a les † isles de Gernesey & de Jerey pur affirmer & assurer l'alliaunce avant dit. Purquoi nostre dit Seigneur a la revenue du dit Ducs en Engleterre entenduez les choses issint parlez & accordez, fist apparailer une grant armee des grosses niefs, & des gentz d'arms & des archiers & sadressea hors del eawe de Thamise devers les isles mes totes voies le vent se monstra contraire a lui, si que a grant peine il veient a Portesmouth & y demora grant piece tantque certains novels viendrent que le dit Roi de Navarre entre lesse la dite alliaunce contre son promesse & serment feust devenuz fraunceys & adherant au dit adversair nostre Seigneur le Roi. * Queles nouvelles oiez & entendues nostre dit Seigneur se retourna ove sa navie & gentz & per cause qil ne poet aver la pees, & que la dite alliaunce ne se poast tenir & auxint que son dit adversair se fist fort des gentz

† N. 6.

† N. 7.

* N. 8.

d'armes & d'autres, sur les marches de Caleys; mesme nostre Seigneur pensant de y avoir hastif bataille, se ordina, ove ses dites navie & gentz de passer la meer devers Caleys.

* Apres qen passage, per avys de son conseil, il ordeine, l'arraie des ses gentz, & de ses alliez, ceux il y trouva come de Monsieur Henry de Flaundres, Monsieur Fraunke de Vanhale, & autres gentz d'Almaigne en grant noumbre, & se commença de mesner hors de Caleys le jour de la feste des almes, & fist son progres en le roialm devers les lieux où par espies & en autre manere il entendit qe son dit adversair estoit fil voleit aver en la bataille ovesqe lui mes totes voies il feust, & de nuit & de jour, nient attendant la bataille; et nostre Seigneur le Roi lui pursuist degastant ardent & bruillant le pais per tout tantqe per assent de son conseil per causes qe ses gentz furent molt lassez per de faute de vyn, & ne beurent qe eawe bien per qatres jours se retourna devers Caleys, & issint entendit davoit eue la bataille ovesqe lui, mes il ne y vient point; et a la revenue nostre dit Seigneur a Caleys, il fist payer ses alliez qi y avoient demorez per long temps bien & curtoisement, si qils agreront bien; et puis est revenu en Engleterre ore a son parlement.

|| Et les ditez choses issint monstrez fust dit per Monsieur William de Shareschul a les communes qils deussent aver regard al grant travail qe nostre dit Seigneur le Roi avoit endure pur la defens & salvation de son roialme & auxint a la bone volonte qil ad de travailler vers Escoce contre ses enemys qi ont pris la ville de Berewyck de guerre, dont novels lui son venuz tut chaudez; & qe per tant ils preudroient hastive avys (pur estourcher le parlement, & lour demoere en ville,) sur ceo qe lour sembloit qe ferroit affaire mieutz, pur nostre dit

* N. 9.

|| N. 10.

F 2

Seigneur

Seigneur le Roi pur faire fyn de la guerre de Fraunce, quel il desire souverainement que soit fait en haste, et coment il purra mieutz estre eide de la faire a meindre grevance de son peuple, & a greindre profit de luy. Et sur ceo les dona jour de responce le Vendredy prechein suant & que endementiers ils feissent lour billes & petitions si uulles y avoient affaire de mettre en parlement.

* **E**T puis le Meskerdy prechein ensuant fust monstres a les Grantz les busoignes de Escoce, et ce que David de Brus et son conseil profrerent au Roi a un treetee que ce fist a Everwick entre les conseils le Roi et le dit David, pour pees final avoir, et demandez des dits Grantz ce que leur sembloit de cel profre, les ceux Grantz chescun demande pur lui donerent accordant respons qils ne oseient ne voillent assentir ne conseiller que le Roi deveroit lesser chose si prejudiciele a sa corone pur nulles profres que lui furent offertz.

† **E**T ceste chose fait feust commande as Grantz et communes qils se departissent et qils y feussent lendemain, cestassaver les Prelatz et Grantz en la chaumbre blaunche, et les communes en la chaumbre depincte au quel lendemain nostre Seigneur le Roi, les Prelatz, Ducs, Countes et Barouns en mesme la chambre blaunche esteantz, les Chevalers des countees, citeyns et burgeys demurantz en la chambre depeincte, fust monstre a eux per le chancelier, coment ils avoient entenduz les causes du sommons de parlement en general; mes le volunte du Roi feust, que les causes feussent monstrez a eux en especial, leur disoit coment le

* Rot. Parl. 36 Edw. 3. n. 6. † Rot. Parl. 40 Edw. 3. n. 7.

Roi avoit entendu que le Pape per force d'un fait quel il dit que le Roi Johan fesoit au Pape de lui faire hommage pur le roiaulm d'Engleterre et la terre d'Irland, et que per cause du dit homage qil lui deveroit pair chescun an perpetuellement mill marcs est en volunte de faire proces devers le Roi et son roiaulm pur le dit service, en ceux recoverer ; de-
 quoi le Roi pria as ditz Prelatz, Ducs, Countes et Barouns lour avys et bon conseil, et ce qil en ferroit, en cas que le Pape verroit proceder devers lui ou son dit roiaulm per celle cause ; Et les ditz Prelatz requeroient au Roi qils se purroient surce par eux soul aviser et repondre lendemayn ; ceux Prelatz le dit lendemayn ade primes per eux mesmes, et puis les autres Ducks, Countes, Barouns et Grantz respondirent et disoient que le dit Roi Johan ne uul autre purra mettre lui ne son roiaulme ne son poeple en tiele subgection saunz assent et accorde de eux ; et les communes surce demandez et avisez, responderent en mesme la manere ; sur quoi feust ordine et assentu per commune assent en manere gensuit.

* En ce present parliament tenu a Westminstre Lundy prechein apres la invention de la Seinte Croice l'an du regne le Roi Edward Quarantisme, tant sur lestat de Seinte Esglise come des droitz de son roiaulme et de sa corone meintener entre autres choses estoient monstrez, coment ad este parlee et dit que la Pape per force d'un fait qele il dit que le Roi Johan jadys Roi d'Engleterre fesoit au Pape au perpetuitee de lui faire hommage pur le roiaulme d'Engleterre et la terre d'Irland, et per cause du dit homage de lui rendre un annuel cens adeste en volunte de faire proces devers le Roi pur les dits services et cens recoverir ; laquelle chose monstrez as Prelatz, Ducs, Countes, Barouns et la commune pur ent aver lour avys et bon conseil, et de-

* N. 8.

mande de eux ce que le Roi en ferra en cas que le Pape vorroit proceder ou rien attempter devers lui ou son roiaulme per celle cause queux Prelatz, Ducs, Countes, Barouns et communes, eu surce plein deliberation respondirent et disoient d'un accorde, que le dit Roi Johan ne nul autre purra mettre lui ne son roiaulme, ne sen people en tiele subjection sauntz assent de eux, et come piert per plusours evidences, que si ce feust fait, ceo feust fait saunz leur assent ot encontre son serement en sa coronation; et autre ceoles Ducs, Countes, Barouns, Grantz et communes, accorderent et graterent, que en cas que le Pape se efforceroit ou rien attempleroit per proces, ou en autre manere de fait de constreindre le Roi ou ses subgits, de prefaire ce qest dit qil voet clamer celle partie qils resisteront et contrestenteront ove toute leur peussance.

† **A** Quel lendemayn Lerceveque de Canterbirs et tous les autres Prelatz, Ducs, Countes, et Barones, en mesme la chaumbre esteantz le dit Ercevesque monstra a eux coment sur le claime et droit que le Roi ad en la terre d'Escocce plusours tretees avoient este tenuz ove le conseil nostre dit Seigneur le Roi et le conseil David de Brus d'Escocce et diverse et foviens ofrez et demandes damb partz monstrez et parlez et ore au darrein tretee per le conseil le dit Davyd a Trenche respondu, que sauue au dit Davyd et ses heires lentierte du roiaulme d'Escocce et sauuz nulle subjection au Roi d'Engleterre ou aucune chose faire au Roi d'Engleterre ou a ses heires que poait fover ou estre dit servage ou charge perpetual, ils se accorderaint sur tiel point de bone pees si le conseil le Roi d'Engleterre le vera ou vorra monstrez; quele chose issint monstrez estoit demande as Prelatz, Ducs, Countes,

Barouns, et autres Grantz fils favoient trover ou monstrier aucune voie de trete de pees sauvant au Roi son droit et clayme et fauve au dit David et ses heires les choses per lui sauvez, come dessus est dit; ceux Prelatz, Ducs, Countes, Barouns, et Grantz chescun per soi sur ce examine accordaument respondirent, qe sauvez au dit David et ses heires les pointz susnommez, ils ne souvoient veer ne monstrez nulle voie de treetee de pees qe ce ne cherroit overtement en desheretifon du Roi de ses heires & de sa corone, & de eux auxint qe estoient jures a la corone a quele chose, ils ne se assenteroient pur riens & issint departirent cel jour.

———* Levesqe de Wyncestre chancellor monstra les causes du somons de parlement en manere gensuyt. Sires, le Roi en touz les grosses busoignes qe toucherent lui ou son roiaulme de tout temps ad fait & overi per le conseil &

ses Grantz & communes de son roiaulme, ceux il ad trouve en toutes ses affaires bons & loialx dont il les merci de grant cuer & volunte & nest pas disconuz a eux touz

nostre dit Seigneur le Roi avant ces heures sur le clayme & droit ceux nostre dit Seigneur le Roi ad en le roiaulme de Fraunce per lavys & conseil de ses Grantx & communes prist une pees

adversair de Fraunce sur certaines conditions, cestassaver qe le dit adversair ferroit liverer au Roi certaines terres pais per de la meer & auxint lui paieroit certaines

a certain temps limite en mesme la pees, & ovesqe ce son dit averfair ferroit desporter de sa part de user resort en toutes les terres & pays de Gascoigne & toutes

terres & pays qe le Roi tenoit & avoit per dela la meer; & nostre

* Rot. Parl. 43 Edw. 3. n. 1.

Seigneur le Roi de sa part ferroit desporte de soi nomer Roi de Fraunce per mesme le temps, & comment que le dit
 adversair ad faille de tout de faire liverree des dites terres & pays issint acorde per la pees & de son paiement auxint nient meyns le dit adversair ad al del
al del Counte Dermynack le Sire de la Brett & autres que sont gentz, liges a nostre dit Seigneur le Roi en Gascoigne, & per virtue de ceux appealx ad fait le
 le Prince de Gascoigne dapparer devant lui a Paris le primer jour de May darrein passe de respoudre a lour appealx contre la fourme de la pees & autre ad maunde grant nombre de gentz darmes & autres qi chivacent de guerre, en les terres nostre dit Seigneur le Roi de Gascoigne.

† Et illoques ont pris afforce villes chasteux fortresses & autres lieux & les teignent, & les lieges gentz nostre Seigneur le Roi illoques pris ascuns tuez & les autres mys en prisone ou a grief raunceon; & plus outre ore tard manda un grant nombre des gentz en les demeynes terres le Roi de Pountieu qont pris afforce ses villes chasteux & fortresses; et per causes des attemptats issint faitz per le dit adversair en la dite principalte contre la fourme de la pees, le Prince manda a nostre Seigneur le Roi ses solempnes messages de les monstrier a lui pleinement, et outre les dits attemptats monstrent a nostre Seigneur le Roi coment le Prince avoit pris devers lui les plus sages de la dite principalte & trete ovesqe eux si per les causes des attemptats si overtement faits contre la fourme de la pees le Roi poait de droit & reson reprendre & user le nom de Roi de Fraunce.

‡ Ceux disoient & affermerent que le Roi le poait faire de droit & de bone foi; et sur ce point Lercevesqe de Canterbirs & les autres Prelatz fuerent

† Ibidem, n. 2.

‡ Ibidem, n. 3.

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* II

chargez per le Roi de parler & treter & monstrier au Roi leur avys & conseil, &c.

* Et le Meskerdy suant Lercevesque & Prelatz eu sur la charge que leur feust done devant mature deliberation, dune accorde respondirent & disoient, que nostre dit Seigneur le Roi per les causes susdites poait reprendre & user le nom du Roi de Fraunce de droit & bone conscience, & a ce accorderent les Ducs, Countes, Barouns, & autres Grantz & communes en plein parlement que le nom de Roi de Fraunce le Roi reprist. Et le xi jour de Juyn le grant seal le Roy quel il usa a devant mis en garde, & un autre seal emprente du nom de Fraunce repris & fuerent chartres patentes & briefs ensealez & touz les autres sealx en les autres places le Roi, en mesme le manere changez le dit jour.

— † Levesque de Wyncestre chancellor monstra a eux la cause de parlement come ensuyt. Sirez, vous savez bien coment au darrein parlement le Roi de vostre assent reprist le nom de Roi de Fraunce a cause que son adversair avoit enfreint la pees autrefoitz afferme entre eux & usa le resort quele, per la dite pees, deveroit demurer & appartenir au Roi, & per celle cause & autres ad fait Grantz custages & mandez ascuns des Grantz & autres outre meer a grant nombre pur son droit avoir & conqere & ore le Roi ad certaines nouvelles per ses amys & alliez que son dit adversair se fait plus fort qil nad fait devant, & ad ordeine un si grant nombre de gentz que lui semble doit suffire de hoster le Roi cest hors de sa possession de toutes lis terres & pays ceux qil ad touz partz dela la meer si bien en Gascoigne come a Caley's Guynes Pountieu, & autres ses chasteux & lieux illoques & ovesque ce ad prest tantz de Galeys, Flimes, Lynes,

* Ibidem, n. 8.

† Rot. Parl. 45 Edw. 3. n. 1.

& autres Niefs de tour qe lui semble doivent suffire a destruire toute la navie d'Engleterre, & auxint se afforce & bie denvoier un grant poair des gentz d'armes & autres en ceste terre pur la destruire & conquere a son poir ; perqoi le Roi requiert & charge les Grantz & communes cy assemblez qe ils se voillent sur les pointz susdits aviser & lui conseiller coment son roiaulme poesse estre sauvement garde & la navie sauve & meintene contre la malice des dits enemys & pur la sauve garde des terres le Roi per de la, & pur maintenir la guerre es dites partes, & la conquete dycelles.

— * Et la tierce estoit dordeiner pur la meintenance de la guerre qe le Roi fait et encores conveient de faire entour la prosecution de sa qerele de Fraunce et aillours ; et coment et per qele manere ce purra estre fait au meillour profit plus hastive exploit & greindre honour du Roi & del roiaulm, affermant expressement qe nostre Seigneur le Roi ent ad tout dys fait per leurs bons conseilx confortz & eides peront il ad bien exploite, loiez y soit Dieux tanqe en cea & tout dys bye de faire eide les bons eides conseilx & confortx qe les Prelatz Seigneurs & communes avoient fait au Roi cea en ariere le Roi lour merciaft entierement, & y se loiaft grantement de eux lour rekerent de bone continuance de ci en avant ; et pere tant lour priaft mesme le chancelier de per le Roi qils se ent aviserent diligeamment, &c.

† **I**TEM fait a remembrer qe un petit roule contenant xiv articles faitz sur certains convenances taillez & perlez per entre nostre Seigneur

* Rot. Parl. 50 Edw. 3. n. 2. † Rot. Parl. 1 Rich. 2. n. 34.

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le Roi et son tres chere frere Johan Duc de Bre-
taigne touchant les Chastelx & Seigneure de Brest
en Bretagne, estoit leu en parlement devant les
Seigneurs, & les Seigneurs s'accorderent bien a
toutes choses y comprises excepte tant seulement
que y fust dit que lon verroit aviser del xii^e me
article touchant les alliances, &c. et que bon fust que
celles alliances feussent veues & examinees devant
le grand conseil a bone deliberation, &c.

† **E**T ores est il ainsi que si homme regarde discre-
tement toutes parties, cest roiaulm nestoit
unques en greindre peril qore est dedinz le roiaulme
mesme come dehors si come apereffante chose est
a touz que reson ont, & discretion, en tant, que si
Dieux ny mette sa main de grace, & les inhabi-
tantz se peinent pur lour defendre, ceste roiaulme
est sur le poinct destre conquis (que Dieux ne veullie)
& mys en subjection de ses ennemys, & partant la
langue & nation Engleys estre outrement destruit,
issint que maintenant autrement n'est mye que eslire
un de deux, de nous rendre ou nous defendre. Et
d'autre part, * combien que semble clerement que a
le terme deinz quel cel mescheif deust a venir,
toutes voies encore Dieux nous adovert deux nobles
chemins per queles deraison & per sa grace homme
eschapera touz les dits perils & avendra a grant
honour : L'une chemin est de ceux de Flandre quex
se vorront ofrer a la service nostre Seigneur le Roi
& a tout bone alliance avoir ove luy & son roiaulme,
a ce qest dit, & celle chemin si est moelt noble &
large de grever les ennemys, puis que grant pitie ne
furent si home eust dequoi detinir cel chemin overt
& maintenir les dits Flamentz en contre leurs enne-

† Rot. Parl. 6 Rich. 2. n. 10. pars prim.

* Ibid. n. 11.

mies & les nos, si l'alliance se preigne, que Dieux grante; L'autre chemin est en Portugal; qar de certain il na mye place en monde si semblable de faire fin & venir a bone & brief purpos de les guerres come cel place nest de present qar si Monsieur d'Espaigne † y voise ore ovesqe un suffisant poair & y veigne en salvetee a leide nostre Seigneur & illoques ove les Seigneurs & poair que y sont a devant veigne es champes il ferra Roi d'Espaigne ou avera la bataille deinz un demy an prechein apres la venue illoques; Et si Dieux lui doigne prosperitee illoques le remanent de nos guerrez tost ferra mys au fyn; & par tant l'esperance daver bon & hastive fyn de noz guerrez per cell autre chemyn, nous deveroit de reson premier de mettre travail, dillegences, & coustages en tiel guise que per tant si Dieux plest en apres home fust mys a repos & quiete pur tous jours. Et sur le profre que Monsieur le Duc ad fait daver II mil. homes darmes & II mil. archers, & gages & rewardes pur eux pur demy an tant soulement que les gages & rewardes pur le dit demy an amontent a XLIII mill. liveres, pur la qele some il se profre de lier al Roi nostre Seigneur & a son roialme de faire repaiement ou en monoie ou en service al election de nostre dit Seigneur le Roi deinz trois ans precheins ensuantz apres le departir du dit Duc hors du roialme, si einsi soit que Dieux lui doigne la vie si longuement & il soit frank en le moien temps de son corps hors de prisone et qil viegne en salvetee avec son host a terre doutre la meer; semble pur voiez de chascun home se doit prendre ore moelt pris daider a cest foitz en rescuz del roialme, & de lui mesme, Et pur tant en brief paroles nostre Seigneur le Roi vous prie entierement & chescun vrai liege & bien veulliant au roialme deust avancer la busoigne per

† Rot. Parl. 6 Rich. 2. p. 12.

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les causes des suis dites en tiel manere qe vous vous vorrez cestassaver bien adviser sur cest matiere & ent comuner profondement & diligement entre vous & chescun de sa part & especialement sur le point coment en la plus aisee manere, † a meindre grief & nuisance du people len purra venir a la some de monoie dont home purra mettre les deux purpos & viages de Espagne & Flandrez a bon fyn ou a meinz lun dycelle, cestassaver celle d'Espagne aiant nientmoins reward convenable vers Flandrez si laccorde si preigne & si einfi soit fait, & qe home y vorra ore mettre sa paine nest pas a douter qe Dieux ne nous mettra en bon plit devant les deux ans dessuifdits finiz. Et si doit home le plus aver bone volantee ore de bien faire qe unqs devant per cause de les deux croiseryes que nostre seint Piere le Pape ad fait grantez & envoie ore devers le roialme d'Engleterre, lun a Monsieur Despaigne fait en especial encontre son adversaire d'Espaigne & lautre croiserye general fait a l'Evesqe de Norwiz en contre lanti-Pape & touz ses adherdantz complices fautores & maintenours en quel conques parties il les purra trover, a ceux viages home avera un tiele remission & pardon en toutes choses come auroit en viage fait en la terre seinte. Et purce Seignours & Sirez pur Dieux tendrement vorrez vous adviser & penser del salvation de cest roialme & vous mesmes au fyn de l'en purra veoir qe les doutes & lesperances devant dites quelles vous sont ore monstrez noun pas de cause feinte einz de droite veritee qe est conu a vous toutz vous purront exciter de bien faire, qe Dieux grant pur ses mercies.

‡ Item, Fait a renembrer, e qentendu per la dite commune lour dite charge, ils se departirent dilloques, vers leurs place en l'Abbeie de West-

† Rot. Parl. 6 Rich. 2. n. 13.

‡ Ibid. n. 14.

ministre pur entre communer & treter pluis avant de leur charge avant dit. Mes devant qils en firent reinz en effect pur tant qe leur dite charge touchast moelt haute et chargeante matire a ce qe leur sembloit, ils firent reqere as Seignours de parlement daver assignez a eux en especial certains Prelatz & autres Seignours del roialme dont les noms sensuent pur communer oveqse eux de les charges dessuis dits; cestassaver Levesqe de Wyncestre Levesqe de Norwiz & Levesqe de Excester le Duc de Lancastre les Countes d'Arundel de Stafford & de Salisbers le Sieur de Nevil Monsieur Guy de Bryan Monsieur Richard Lescroop; et celle requeste leur estoit grantez.

† Item les Seignours & communes du roialme d'Engleterre assemblez en cest parlement apperceivantz si bien per les enchesons allegez en la prononciation des causes de la somons de cest parlement come autrement per diligence examination cur ce fait, & en parte pur grante experience l'outrageouse multitude des enemys du Roi nostre Seignour & de son roialme avante dite, chescun parte de mesme le roialme, si bien per terre come per meer & leur grantz afforcementz de guerre & crescent de jour en autre pluis & pluis & dautre parte les grantz despences qe necessairment lon faut mettre sur le defens & salvation de mesme le roialme en resistance de tantz des enemys, ove leide nostre Seignour, mesmes les Seignours & les communes de leur liberale voluntee combien qe se soit ore moelt grievous charge pur eux apporter, totes choses considerez grantent a nostre Seigneur le Roi si bien pur eux en cest parlement ores present, come pur toute le commonaltee d'Engleterre une quinzeime, &c.

† Rot. Parl. 6 Rich. 2. n. 15.

* Item sur le profre qe a diverses foitz a este fait es Parlement per Monsieur Despaigne Duc de Lancastre & ore per le dit Duc rehercez en ce parlement devant les Prelatz & Seignours; cestassaver daler en Espaigne ovesqe deux milles homes darmes & a tantz des archers as gaiges le Roi nostre Seigneur pur demy an & dubble reward, dont la sone totale oultre lour eskeppison amonteroit bien entour xliii. mill. livres desterling de la qele sone, ou en monoie ou en service le dit Duc vorroit faire repaiement deinz trois ans precheins apres son alee si einfi feust qe Dieux lui donast si longement la vie, & feust si longement a large de son corps hors de prisone & arrivast a salvettee de lui & de ses gentz de per dela. Et en oultre sur ceste profre demande & qestion fait as Prelatz, Countes, Barouns, & Banneretz esteantz en ce parlement si bien en general come severalement cestassaver si lour semblast celle viage ore affaire en Espaigne per le dit Duc, avec le nombre des gentz avant dits feust profitable pur nostre Seignour le Roi & son roialme d'Engleterre ou Nemmie? Mesmes les Prelatz, Countes, Barouns, & Bacheliers respondirent qe si plect a nostre Seignour le Roi lour semblast tout a certain qe aiant regard al socours & rescous des nobles Seignours & autres gentz Engleys qores sont en celles marches come autrement, a ce qe home pense al eide nostre Seignour de mettre celle guerre a hastive & bonfyn, & per consequence les plus tost & le pluis aisement les autres, qe celle viage d'Espaigne si feust profitable & honourable au Roi & a son roialme avant dit per manere come le dit profre purporte. Purveux toutes voies qe le dit Duc y voise assez fort des gentz & dautres apperaillementz de guerre: Qar lour semble qe le nombre des gentz demande si est assez petit pur faire guerre a si forte roialme.

* Rot. Parl. 6 Rich. 2. n. 23.

* **I**TEM vous savez coment au derrein parlement nostre dit Seignour le Roi avoit pris purpos daler ove leide de Dieux en sa persone as parties de France pur le recoverer de son droit heritage; peront la commune de son roialme per soi lui adgrantez une xv. & la clergie per soi une x. a lever as termes limites en defence du roialme & eide a nostre Seignour le Roi deffuisdit. Et doivez entendre que maintenant apres le dit parlement finis, si viendrent tieles nouvelles de per de la que furent moelt grante-ment despleasantes au Roi nostre Seignour deffuisdit, de ce que la adverfaire de France ove son ost roial avoit este armez en la contee & terre de Flandrez qi furent noz bien veullians & amys & y avoit en bataille darest & desconfit noz dits amys & conquis le pays entier en sa main propre horspris la ville de Gaunt qi se tient encores. Perquoi tantost le Roi nostre Seigneur, ceste nouvelle oiez fist somoner un grant conseil cy a Westminster, tost apres la Epiphanie darrein passez, en quel conseil si estoit grant partie de Seignours du roialme esperituelx & temporelx & grant nombre des pluis siffisantz batcheliers du roialme a celle nouvelle illoeqes decloree ove la bone volonte que la dite ville de Gaunt porte tout dys en loyaltée a nostre dit Seignour le Roi & a son roialme estoit finalement pur plusours resons ladvys de touz que pur le rescous de Gaunt & recoverer du pays de Flandres que nostre dit Seignour le Roi passast en sa persone ove son host Roial si ce il poiait faire son honoure salvez; qar il feust dit & apperissant chose est que chescune loial liege home du Roi vorroit pluist tost & de pluist ardent desirer travailler en la presence de son Seignour liege que ad le droit & verroi title a la corone de France que ove nule autre persone du monde & as meindres coustages mes pertant que la busoigne estoit, & est si chargeant si bien touchant le governaill du roialme

* Rot. Parl. 6 Rich. 2. p. 2. n. 3.

en absence du dit nostre Seignour fil y passast, come autrement, sur son dit aler, qe home ne voloit ne nosast pur perils aperisantz finalement assentir a lun ne a lautre sanz parlement. Et pur ce le Roi nostre Seignour vous charge & prie moelt entierement qe vous veulliez diligeament aviser, vous; les Seignours cestassaver per vous mesmes, & vous la commune per vous mesmes de ceste matire & per especial si vous sembla qe nostre Seignour le Roi devra & purra en sa persone passer come dit est ou Nemmie, & si vous semblera qe salvez sou honour il ne purra passer, adonques vorrez vous adviser diligeament qele armee ou viage ferra & purra estre fait & per qi & en quel manere? Eiant regard as coustages affaires & al hast qe le viage demande pur le rescous de Gaunt & atixint eiant regard a la quantitee de monoie grantez & vous advys ent prises les vorres en haste monstrier avant a nostre Seignour le Roi & a son conseil. Qar nostre Seignour le Roi est prest & appereillez de faire & perfourmer en ce qas qanqe vous lui vorrez conseiller pur le mieultz.

* Et fur ce qant la dite commune savoient bien advisez deux jours ou trois sur leur dit charge ils prierent a nostre Seignour le Roi qe pur tant qe leur dit charge a eux donnez touchast hautement & si pris lestat de leur Seignour liege leur pleust a eux granter certains Prelatz, Countes, & Barouns, de roialme per eux a ce a nomiers pur entre comuner ove eux de leur dit charge islint qe per leur bon conseil & entre comunement ils purroient le pluis tost venir a bone conclusion & certain purpos de leur charge avant dite & firent illoeges les dites communes a ce nomer Lercevesqe de Canterbris, les Evesques de Ely & de Hereford & les Countes de Cantebrigge, Stafford & Northumberland, le

* Ibid. n. 8.

Sieur de Nevil, le Sire Fitzwater, le Sire de Cobham. Et ceux mesmes, Prelatz, Countes, & Sieures per la commune issint nomez, nostre Seigneur le Roi leur grantast pur leur communement avant dit. Combien que feust, est, & doit estre de droit en l'election de nostre dit Seigneur le Roi dassigner a ce les dits Prelatz & Seignours issint nomez ou autres a sa propre denomination.

† Item, quant mesme la commune favoient longement deliberez, & entre communes ove les Prelatz & Seignours dessus dits de leur charge avant dite, ils vindrent en parlement en presence de nostre Seigneur le Roi & des Seignours de parlement & illoques Monsieur James de Pickering Chivalier qavoit les paroles pur la commune dist en feasant sa protestation, que si il deist riens per ignorance ou autrement de per la commune que ne feust per eux devant accordez que celle defaute purroit estre amendez par la commune avant dite lequele il dist, fust de si bone voluntee envers leurs Seigneur liege come nulle commune mieulx purroit estre, & outre y dist que combien que ceste leur charge de la passage nostre Seigneur le Roi, ne l'ordinance de son viage ou de nul autre grant viage affaire, soleit, ne doit appartenir a la commune, eins au Roi mesmes & as Seignours du roialme come leur semble, toutes voies, depuis que en especial ils ent sont chargez de per le Roi nostre Seigneur leur semble que si ce purroit estre fait bonement & feust prest en maine, de quoi se purroit estre fait en la persone du Roi qui ad la verroi droit a la corone de France, ferroiet tel viage mieulx emploiez que en nulle autre person del monde. Mes depuis que ce ne purra estre perfourmez come ad este declarez per entre euz pur moeltz des bones resons, leur advys est que aiant consideration a la quantitee de monnoie qest grantez a nostre Seigneur le Roi pur

† Ibid. n. 9.

la defens du roialme & as Grantz & Nobles profres
 qe Levesqe de Norwiz fait a nostre Seignour le Roi
 pur servir Dieux & Sainte Esglise, en la croiserie a
 lui grantee per nostre Sainte Pierre le Pape Urban,
 & ovesqe ce, pur servir a nostre Seignour le Roi
 dessuifdit en sa guerre de Fraunce & rescous & con-
 fort de Gaunt, qe mesme le profre ferroit bonement
 & effectualement acceptez per le qiel profre si ce
 soit perfourmiz semble qe moelt grant bien & profit
 ent doit avenir si bien a nostre Seignour le Roi,
 come a son roialme avant dit.

* Et oultre y dist le dit James qe entenduz le
 troboil qe est encores toutes partes deinz le roialme
 mesme & le nouvelles qelles viegnent de jour en
 autre de la marche d'Escoce & per especial coment
 precheinement si accord ou pluis longe trieve ne
 soient faites per entre les roialmes d'Engleterre &
 d'Escoce a cest fest de la nativete Sainte Johan est
 a douter grantment qe la guerre fera overte per
 entre les dits roialmes qe ferroit le pluis perileuse
 & pluis nusante guerre que nous purrions aver &
 per tant qe comune fame est qe les Escotz sont ore
 si fortz & orgoilouses qils nassenteront ligierement a
 nulle pees ne trieve si ce ne soit bien damageuse &
 prejudiciel au Roi nostre Seignour & a son roialme
 fils ne soient a ce chases pluis per doute & fource
 de vous nostre Seigneur lige & de vos honourez
 Uncles & autres Seignours du roialme qe en autre
 manere per beles tretees & Parlances semble a la
 commune avant dite qe vous nostre Seignour liege
 ne nul de vos trois Uncles de Lancastre de Cante-
 brigge & de Buckingham purra qant a present estre
 desportez hors de vostre roialme ne ne purra per quel-
 conqe voie tanqe vous nostre Seigneur lige aiez si
 Dieux plest mys vostre roialme & la dite marche en
 un manere ou en autre repose & quiete. Et ce est
 lavys de vostre commune d'Engleterre sur leur dite

* Ibid. n. 10.

charge a eux donee per vestre Roial Magestee. Mes ils nel diont mye ce dit le dit Monsieur James per voie de conseil ent donez a vous einz feulement vous ent monstrent leur plein avys sur leur dite charge. Aqoi feust dit de per le Roi illoeqes tantost qe home ne purroit ligierement mettre grante differeuce en celle partie cestassaver entre les dits parolles conseil & avys.

† Item, qant le profre del dit Evesqe fait devant le Roi nostre Seignour & les Seignours de roialme en parlement sur le commencement dicelle parlement feust tiele cestassaver qe si nostre dit Seignour le Roi lu voulist granter les xv. & disme entiers ores derrein grantez a nostre Seignour le Roi per les liges gentz & per le clergie & ovesqe ce les vi d. au lib. & iis. au tonell de vin nadgaires grantez pur la salve garde de la meer, il se ferra fort daver ei roialme de France precheinement en temps & seison convenables iii m. homes darmes & iii m. archers bien montez & arraiez dont d'homes, d'armes, & d'archers, seront la meer prests pur passer en rescous & confort de Gaunt deinz le xx jours prechein apres qil ferra paiez de la primer paiement. Et ovesqe ce il paiera les coustages de leskippeson de son dit ost & ent sustendera tous autres charges necessaires, issint qe le Roi nostre Seignour ne ferra chargez de pluis paier al dit Evesqe qe dessuis nest dit forsqe de lui ottroier commissions & lettres necessaires & qe les officers du Roi soient attendantz au dit Evesqe en celle partie. Et sanz ce encores le dit Evesqe, sil purra aver lattendance de West Admiral trovera sur la meer pur la salve garde dicell per entre cy & le Sainte Michel prechein venant, x grosses Niefs & x bones Barges armez en les queux sanz les mariners necessaires il trovera au meins D combattants pur le dit terme.

† Rot. Ibid. n. 11.

* **I**TEM la comune prierent a nostre Seignour le Roi qil vousist doner ascout & audience al Seignour del Spurra qi novellment festoit venuz del roialme d'Espagne leqel Seigneur dit & il se face fort al eide nostre Seignour qe si vous nostre lige vorrez a ce encliner de vostre grace qil vous monstreara diverses bones & honorable voies pur lesqueles vous purrez bien & honourablement venir a la pees la qele pees si vous nostre Seignour lige purrez aver vostre honour salvez per Dieux le vorrez rescever & prendre per grant profit de vous & de tout vostre roialme & quiete de vos subgitz. A qoi fust responduz de per le Roi de son commandement qe le Roi s'adviferoit oveſqe les Seignours de son roialme, & sur ce per lour azys ent ferroit ce qe lui sembleroit affaire en le cas, son honour salvez.

† — Seignours & Sires la principale & primere cause purqoi nostre dit Seignour le Roi ad fait somondre son present parlement qe touche le roialme d'Escocce cy est expresse & contenue en les briefs a vous faites de mesme la somonce laquele est tiele ‡ nostre Seignour le Roi appercevant coment les grantz trieves jadyz prisez per entre les roialmes d'Engleterre & d'Escocce si dovient per la forme dycelles fyner & failler a cest prechein feste de la purification nostre dame prechein venant & purtant qe home ny feust disgarnez en celle partie al dit fyn des trieves pleust a nostre dit Seignour le Roi denvoier a la marche d'Escocce lui puissant & noble Seignour son treschier Uncle d'Espaigne Duc de Lancaſtre ez present oveſqe autres Seignours & Sages de conseil le Roi pur assaier & taiter si lon purroit honourablement avoir le paix oveſqe les

* Rot. Ibid. n. 22.
prim. n. 2.

† N. 3

† Rot. Parl. 7 Rich. 2. pars

Escotes ou autrement prorogation dicelles trieves pur un temps notables, & si feurent ils en dite marche d'Escocce & ent avoient parlance & treetee oves mesme les Escotes & finalement ent on reportez a nostre dit Seignour le Roi relation & lettres del adversary d'Escocce contenant q'il envoieit suffisantes perones de son roialme ove poiar & auctoritee suffisant de per lui a Londres pur y treter de mesme la matire. Et celle report fait a nostre dit Seignour le Roi, purce qe voirs est qe plusours de vous estez enheritez des plusors terres & Signories deinz le roialme d'Engleterre appertenantz a les Escotes d'ancientee & auxint aient en chalenge plusours terre & tenements deinz les roialmes d'Escocce dont les Escots sont auxint de present enheritez & si paix se ferroit per entre les roialmes avendront ensi per cas qe plusours translations des droitz a ycelles terres & Seignouries dambes partz ferroient faits ou yer cas mesmes les droitz ferroient surrenduz de cea & dela & purcelle cause & autres matires plusours incidentes qe ne viegnent ore a memoire mes per especial pur tant qe le roialme d'Escocce si est tielment annexee d'ancientes a la corone d'Engleterre, lui quel temps bruit premer inhabitour dicelles roialme le roialme d'Escocce avant dit & le Roi dicelle pur le temps esteant aient este continuellement subjugatz & attendantz au Roi & al roialme d'Engleterre ou en possession ou en chalenge, sembloit de veritee qe home ne poait sur tiele haute & chargeante matire finalment treter ou accorder aillours qe en parlement, ou si paix ou trieves ne se y purroient prendre encores le remedie pur defendre faut estre purveu en parlement, & einfi si nule autre matire eussez davoier parlement, si est ce qe jai dit une grant cause. † Une autre cause y ad purqoi le Roi Seignour ad fait somondre cest son parlement est tielle si einfi avenist qe paix ou

† Ibid. n. 4.

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trieves ne se preignent point en Escoce, adonques la pluis perilleuse guerre que nous purrions avoir, si est tantost ovter dont est moult grandement a doutre per toute faire per temps bon purvoyance encontre leur grant orgoill, fauxine & force, aiant consideration coment ils purront chescun jour entrer nostre roialme a terre seck sans impediment de la meer ou de eave fresh, mes encores non pas soulement de faire purveyance encontre les dits Escotes einz d'autres pattz envers trois des pluis grandes roialmes & pays de Christianitee, cest a dire France Espagne & ore de nouvelle accreue le pais de Flandrez ove toutz leur adherentz & alliez que sont come innumerables mortelx enemys a ceste petit roialme d'Engleterre que Dieux salve toutz partz environnez per terre & per meer envers ceux si Dieux de sa grace ny mette remedy & home de sa part ne face ceo que en lui est de purveyance en resistance de leur malice vray semblable est que le greindre mescheif est hastivement a avenir, que Dieux ne veuille, a cest-petit roialme que unques mes ny avenist. Et pur ceo que mescheif semble per les dites causes fidure & si proscheine si est droit que home se haste le pluis tost pur ordeiner de bone & effectuel remedie qest principalement apres la grace de Dieux d'avoir de qoy home purra venir a les dispenfes que len y faut mettre que coment a fyn force venir de la commune, qar commune defens demande commune charge, voir est & certain que trois de pluis riches Rois Christiens ne purroient endurer les charges de tantes & tieles guerres sans l'eide de leur commune. Et pur tant len faut ordiner coment defendre & de qoy lui avera despenfes necessaires, & qant a defens faire & celle partie, salvez meillour advys, il doit apparoir a chescun sage que nostre defens si est d'affailler les enemys per dehors nostre roialme; qar tielle assaut si semble, estre resonable profitable

& honorable. Primerement si est nostre assaut resonable per encheson qe nous sommes actours, demandours & chalengours ou appellours & reson voet qe le demandant & challengour assaille le defendour & noun pas e converso secondelement nostre assaut est profitable, quar si nous attendismes lour assaut deinz nostre roialme l'assemblee & chivanche de nostre ost envers lour ost feroit a nostre roialme l'un & l'autre ost esteant en ycell a tant de damage come feroit lost des enemys horspris prise de prisoner & arsure des villes & mesons si come vous Messeignours & Sires avez mesmes veu estre fait es parties de per de la & mieltz est & plus profitable qe nostre host soit sustenuz per les vittailles & biens des enemys qe de nos biens propres. Tiercement il est plus honorable d'assailer qe defendre qar coment les cowards n'assillent mye & pur eschuir les mescheifs de lour assaut d'un part a la villenie qe nous aurions si nous qi sommes demandours & chalengours come dit est pur defaute del poursuite de nostre droit qe nous avons commencez devant ore feussions appelez maintenant ou tenuz d'autres nous veissins qe Dieux ne veuille pur cowards si avant come nous purrons eschuir l'occation purquoiel noun emporterions qar il nous faut faire un des deuz des choses, ou de poursuivre nostre droit per forte main & assaut ou de lesser honteusement. Et Seignours & Sires toutes voies vous ne durez mye aretter sur la persone du Roi nostre Seignour que cestes importables charges de les guerres avant ditz soient per lui introduitz, ou per singuleritee de lui commencez einz furent commencez devant son temps come bien sachez & auxint avant come la honorable corone d'Engleterre lui est descenduz per succession de droit heritage auxint avant lui sont eschuiuz ovesqe l'honneur & profit de la corone les chargeantes guerres & qereles dycelles devant son temps commencez come dit est.

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— * **I**tem sur la trettee de la paix que longement ad durez continuez per entre de nostre dit Seignour le Roi & son adversaire de France les Messages dambes parts en dit trettee se sont ore assentuz sur certain forme de paix final prendre prendre per entre les roialmes sur ladvys des Rois & de leur conseilx dambes parts, dont y a certains articles faitz, prestz de vous monstrier en temps & lieu convenable & purtant qe nostre Seignour le Roi vous ent voet monstrier natureesse & perfite amour & considerant vos greivouses charges qeles vous avez longement sustenuz parmy celle guerre, si ne voet mye nostre Seignour le Roi finalement accorder en la cas faunz vostre assent & science combien qil le purroit bien faire come chose qele (a ce qe home pense) nappertient mye en ryenz au droit nie a la corone d'Engleterre dancientee. Et le Roi vous prie & charge moelt entierement qe les dits articles veuez & entenduz ove la manere dicelle trettee, ent lui veuillez doner vostre conseil tiel come vous semblera qe mieltz soit affaire pur son honour & profit a lui & son dit roialme.

† Item, la dite commune touchant la charge a eux donez en ce parlement de la paix qe ce ferra si Dieux pleust per entre nostre Seignour le Roi & son adversaire de France de qoi certains articles ent faites & appointez novelement au trettee de mesme la paix qad este en la marche de Caleys per entre les ambassadours dambes partes estoient livregez a mesme la commune pur leur meillour information del trettee avant dit & del effect dicelle, mesme la commune ont fait leur response a nostre Seignour le Roi en parlement per le manere qe sensuit, En disant qe pur les outrageouses perils qils y veiont clerement chescun part, ils ne poent ne ossent per aucun manere ent conseiller leur Seignour lige ex-

* Rot. Parl. 7 Rich. 2di pars 2. n. 3.

† Ibid. n. 16
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pressement ne a l'une ne a l'autre combien que la dite paix si pleust a Dieux del ottroier tielle que feust honorable & profitable a leur dit Seigneur lige & son roialme, si leur ferroit la plus noble & gracieuse eyde & confort que home purroit en monde deviser, & leur semble que nostre dit Seigneur le Roi poet & doit faire en celle partie si come a sa noble Seignourie mieltz semblera affaire, come de chose qest son propre heritage qest per droit lignage roiale descenduz a sa noble persone & non pas appartenant al roialme ne a la corone d'Engleterre empriantz humblement a mesme leur Seigneur que pur Dieux il ent veulle faire come per ladvys de son conseil mieltx lui ent semblera affair al honour & profit de luy & confort & aide de son roialme avant dite. Et que pur les perils & mescheifs importables que purroient avenir que Dieux defende la poevre commune feusse dechargez de doner autre responce, en ce cas quant au present. † Et sur ce la commune chargee de per le Roi a dire illoeqes leur voluntee de deux choses cestassaver, ou ils desirent la paix, ou la guerre ovesqe leurs enemys Franceys qar y nad autre moyene voie a cause que as trieves que serroient bones au profetables au Roi & son roialme ne veullient les Franceys ore assentir. Et sur ce la dite commune respondist & dist moelt grantement desiront ils que bone paix & honorable au Roi nostre Seigneur & son roialme si feust faite que Dieux grante. Mais per les articles a eux ent liverez des queux pur plusours termes de ley civil y comprises ils nont mye cler entendement & auxint par la relation a eux ent fait dautre part ils entendent que aucunes Seignouries & terres que mesme leur Seigneur lige auroit ore per cest accorde en Guyenne si seroyent tenuz del Roi Franceys per homage & service. Mais ne pensont mye que leur dite Seigneur lige vorroit assentir trop

† Ibid. n. 16.

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ligierement de tenir dyceux Franceys per tiele service la ville de Caley & autres terres conquises des Franceys per lespee. * Ne ne vorroit la commune qe ensi feust fait si autrement len y purroit bien faire ou eschâper sanz damage. A qoi feust dit a la commuhe qe autrement qe de les tenir del Roi Franceys home navendra mye ovesque eux a la paix pur rienz qe home ad peu appercevoir en dite trettee devant cest heure; Et sur ce la commune autre soit requis de dire a lour Seignour lige coment ils vorroient ore faire quant a la prise de ceste paix si ensi feust que la dite commune feusse Roi del roialme, ou en estat qe lour Roi est, confiderez la multitude des Guerres chescun part overts touz a un foitz encontre cest petit roialme & coment les enemys si sont confedrez tres touz ensemble qe nul prendra trieves ne paix ligierement sans autre & le grant force & richesce des enemys & feblesce & povertée de nostre roialme. A qoi la commune respondist & dist qils ont entenduz qe les Prelatz & Seignours temporelx ent ont auxint este chargez devant ceste heure en semblable manere cestassaver de doner lour conseil & advys a nostre Seignour le Roi en le cas & mesmes les Prelatz & Seignours avant dits ont fait lour responce, noun pas come pur lour conseil ou advys donez en celle partie, ne a la paix cestassaver, ne a la guerre, einz soulement come lour est fait a entendre, mesmes les Prelatz & Seignours ont dit qe toutes choses & mi cheifs apparantz confiderez; sils feussent en lestat du Roi ils saccorderoient a la paix plus tost que a la guerre & issint la dite commune per protestation qils ne soient desore chargez come conseillers en le cas ne per tant ent portent charge de conseiller a l'une ne a l'autre, ils saccordent en lour responce sur ceste lour charge en toutes choses as Prelatz & Seignours

* Ibid. n. 18.

avant dits, & tiele responce & nul autre qe les dits Prelatz & Seignours ent ont donez ils donent ore a lour Seignour lige sur lour charge dessus dite.

— * **L**'Honorable Pier en Dieux Levesqe de Worcestre Chancellor d'Engleterre par commandement du Roi esteant present en parlement &c. — Et puis disoit per substance de la matire coment les trieus furent prises per entre le Roi & son adversaire de Fraunce pur un certain temps come overtement fust declarez al darrein parlement Et coment Levesqe de Duresme, le Count de Northampton & autres avoient eite ore tarde en message du Roi a Caleys sur treetee des pees & avoient fait relation au Roi de lour dit message, & coment y faut qe le Roi envoie plus solempnes messages illoeqes entour la chandelour prechein pour treter de pees final si Dieux pleust, qele chose il ne voet purfaire sans avys & assent des Seignours esperituelx & temporelx & autres sages de son conseil Et coment auxint Levesqe de Seint David Tresorer d'Engleterre le Count Marechal & autres avoient este en message du Roi en la marche d'Escocce pur treter ovesqe les Escots de les trieus pur enprises per les Franceys & qe les dits Escots ne soy voyellent encore accorder a mesmes le trieus, issint qil semble mieulx qe le Roi aura illoeqe guerre qe pees, laquelle guerre le Roi ne voet mye faire ne prendre sanz ladvys & assent. dessusdits & qe il faut qe mesmes les messages ou autres soient envoie illoeqes entour la dite chandelour de treter derecheif ove mesmes les Escots. Et puis rehercea les grandes charges & coustages affaires de fyn force si bien sur la sauve garde de la dite marche d'Escocce & de la

* Rot. Parl. 14 Rich. 2. n. 1.

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terre d'Irland come de Caleys, Brest, & Cherburg Guyen & auxint de les dites trettees & coment y fout auxint ordeiner per temps pur la guerre en cas qe pees final ou plus longues trieus ne soyent prises & qe le Roi ne suffist mye a porter ny faire toutz les charges & costages busoygnables & necessair cel partie sans eide de sa terre & par tant il voet estre consillez en cest parlement coment les dites charges & costages purront mieultz estre portez & faitz au meindre damage & desease de son people &c.

* **F**Ait a remembrer qe les communes dissoient en plein parlement qe si trettee de pees ou trewe se devera prendre per entre nostre Seignour le Roi & son adversaire de France qil semble a eux expedient & necessaire fil pleroit au Roi qe Monsieur de Guyen a cause qil est le plus sufficeant persone de roialme irroit al dite trettee. Et le Roi dist qil le vorroit bien fil plust a mon dit Seignour de Guyen. Et surceo Monsieur de Guyen disoit qil vorroit de tres bon coertravailler & fair chose qe purra tourner al honour & profit du Roi & de roialme.

† **F**Ait a remembrer que le Roi, Seignours vaillantz Chivalers & Justices assenterent en cest present parlement a les pees, per ensi qe nostre dit Seignour le Roi ne face homage lige & sauvant auxint tout dis la libertee de la persone nostre Seigneur le Roi & de son roialme d'Engleterre & de ses liges du dit roialme & qe nostre Seignour le Roi & ses heires purront resorter & avoir regresse

* Rot. Parl. 15 Rich. 2. n. 15.

† Rot. Parl. 17 Rich. 2. n. 16.

al noun Title & droit de la corone & roialme de France si la pees soit enfreinte per la partie de son adversaire ou de ses Heires & ensement qe tielx moderations & modifications soient faitz qe nulle confiscation purra vraisemblablement avenir.

* Et les communes chargez de per nostre dit Seigneur le Roi en plein parlement de lui dire & doner leur conseil & avis sur ceste matiere, baille-
rent avant en plein parlement per les mains Monsieur Johan Buffy leur comun parlour une cedula de leur comun assent du dit matire en le paroles qensuent; les communes chargez de per nostre Seignour le Roi sur leur foy & ligeance de lui conseiller a son parlement tenuz a Westminstre a la quinsime de Saint Hiller l'an de reigne nostre dit Seignour le Roi, dys & septisme sur les articles comprises en une endenture fait per entre nostre dit Seignour le Roi, & son adversaire de France, les queux lieuz & en partie entenduz sont confiderez per toute la commune trois pointz si chargeantz cestassaver homage lige, foverainte, & resort dont les dits communes unques ne oseront emprendre de conseiller ne treter de si haute & chargeante matiere, des queux trois pointz les dits communes sont outre-
ment deschargez, a cause qe nully moderation dicelles est unqore fait ne les Seignours ount nul conussance qele moderation y ferra dont nostre dit Seignour le Roi eiant avys si bien per les Seignours espirituelz & temporelx Chivalers Justices & autres Nobles ent duement examinez en cest present parlement, considerantz lestat de son roialme sont condiscenduz qe homage ferra fait, per bone moderation affaire pur les terres en Guyen, toutz foitz reservez qe nostre dit Seigneur le Roi sa corone son roialme & ses liges d'Engleterre biens & chateaux ne soient chargez ne abandonez per ascune manere

* Ibid. n. 17.

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que conque a cause des dits homage fovereintee resort, service ou tittle fait ou affaire per ascune voi, mes que le Roi & ses heires son roialme, & ses liges & leur biens & chateuz soient auxi franks come ils ont este en temps dascun de ses nobles progenitours & sont auxi purveux & assentuz per nostre dit Seigneur le Roi les Seignours & autres avant ditz qen cas que la pees & les contractz faits ou affaire per entre nostre dit Seigneur le Roi & son adversaire de France soient enfrentz per la partie du dit adversaire ou ses heires per ascune manere qeconque qadonques nostre dit Seigneur le Roi & ses heires resorteront a leur primer estat droit & tittle nient contrestant les contractz reles ou services ent faitz ou affaire. Et depuis que nostre tres redoute Seigneur le Roi les Seignours & autres avant ditz considerantz si tendrement lestat du dit roialme & son people voillant & considerant que les contracts de pees avant specifiez soient pur le mieux, les communes avant dits touz jours come obeisantz & suantz si bien la volente du Roi come de toutz les Seignours espirituelx & temporelx Chivalers de honour & Justices ent duement examinez come devant, eiantz consideration a la consentement de nostre dit Seigneur les Roi les Seignours espirituelx & temporelx Chivalers Justices & autres avant dits consentent pur bon pees avoir a les contracts de pees avant especifiez a la bone avys nostre dit Seigneur le Roi les Seignours & autres avant dits ent fait en cest present parlement.

* **I**TEM le Jeody ensuant vindrent les communes devant le Roi & les Seignours en parlement & monstrent au Roi coment Lercevesque de Canterbirs & les Countes de Rotell & Marechal leur firent relation que le Roi avoit en-

* Rot. Parl. 20 Rich. 2. n. 9.

tenduz que furent ascuns qe ce purposerent d'avoit
 restreintz le viage des dits countes promis a son
 honorable Piere de France vers les parties de
 Lumbardie & deussent avoir excitez & procurez
 les communes d'avoit fait requeste a Roi nostre
 Seignour pur avoir desturbe le dit viage & enfrein
 la promesse ent per luy fait a son dit Piere de France,
 mesmes les communes se excuserent qe eux ne ul de
 eux unques ne feurent en purpos nentent ne parlez
 feust entre eux ne nuls autres les enfourmerent de
 faire requeste nexcitation a nostre Seignour le Roi
 de la contraire del honorable promesse fuisdit euz
 qilz lui mercierent molt entirement de son honorable
 port qil avoit fait, pur honour de luy & de son roialme
 si bien en celle matire come en autres ove son dit Piere
 en son darrein viage en France come notoirement
 est conuz a grant partie de Christiante & combien
 qe les dits Seignours en leur relation monstrent
 as dites communes le gracios entent nostre Seignour
 le Roi qe per celle viage les communes ne le roialme
 ne ferroint mye liez ne chargez, nient moins
 les dits communes prieront & firent leur protesta
 tion qe coment qe le Roi de sa autorite & volunte
 de mesme avoit grantez tiell viage, qe de celle viage
 ne de nulle chose qe ent purroit avenir en apres ils
 ne feroient mys parties nent endamages mais outre
 ment excusez. A qoy le Roi respondi mesmes per
 son bouche propre en plein parlement, & dist as
 communes qils ne deussent esmerveiller de la dite
 promesse & leur exposa benignement certeynes
 causes qe lui moerent a la promesse de la dit viage.
 Primerment le Roi considerant coment devant ces
 heures ont este tres grandes mischiefs, & destructions
 de guerre intollerables entre les deux roialmes
 d'Engleterre & de France, & pensent sur ce qe le
 greindre bien fait qe ascun home purra faire a autre
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pur lui eider & relever en son mischief & neccessity, purqoy al bone entention pur peiser & cesser les guerres du roialme, & sauver les mescheifs qe vindrent per la guerre a son roialme & a son poeple & auxint a fyn qe tiel grant bien fait & promesse durront de reson moult occasion de pees quiete & salvation a son roialme & ses liges d'Engleterre & pur exiter son dit Piere de France a la greindre affection de luy & son roialme & ses gentz en temps avenir il fist la dite promesse. La second cause est pur ce qe son dit Piere est Cosin a nostre Seignour le Roi & ore son Piere per ceste alliance, il est le plus tenuz de lui faire plesance & relevement en sa neccesite. La tierce cause est per tant que son dit Piere de France & lui mesmes, qi son tenuz deux des plus sufficientz & vaillantz Princes Chrestiens & per tant fils puissent avoir conuzance de quelconqe Roi Prince ou autre persone qil soit qi per tyranye vorra surmontier & destruire le people Chretien en quelconques parties ils sont de droit tenuz a la reverence de Dieux a destruire tiel tirant & destrouer & de restorer & recoverer tielx oppressez & desolatz a lour estat. Et dist outre nostre Seignour le Roi qil voet estre a large & liberte de commander ses gentz pur eux envoyer en eide de ses amys & pur disposer de ses biens propres a sa voluntee ou & a tant des foitz qe luy plerra, &c.

* — **L**E dit Ercevesqe avoit monstre qe cest honorable roialme d'Engleterre qest le plus habundant angle de riches permy tout le monde avoit este per longetemps mesnez reulez & gouvernez per enfantz & conseil des jeunes peront mesme le roialme feust en point de perdition &

* Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. 4. n. 2.

davoir este mis a tresgrande desolation & mescheif tres douloureusement fil ne feusse qe Dieux tout puissant de sa tresgrande grace & mercie avoit mis un home sachant & discret pur governance de mesme le roialme, leqel per l'eide de Dieux voet estre gouvernez & conseillez per les sages & antients de son roialme pur eide & confort de luy mesmes & de tout son roialme, &c.

† Item Lundy le dixme jour de Novembre le Counte de Northumberland Connestable d'Engleterre per commandement du Roi monstra astouts les Seignours temporelx qe come ill lour ad este monstrez devant ces heures coment le Roi se purposa de guerroier ses ennemys d'Escoce, Et purtant qil feust parlez per ascuns qe cel purpos ce deust prendre per conseil & exitation du dit Counte & de Counte de Westmoreland Marescal d'Engleterre, dont mesmes les Countes excuserent & prierent au Roi qe lui pleise monstrier sa volunte en especial touchant cest matire; Et sur ceo mesme nostre Seignour le Roi de son bouche propre dist en plein parlement coment Dieu de sa grace luy ad envoyez en ceste roialme & luy ad mys en lestat qil est au present pur la salvation dicelle, & purtant il est purposes de tenir cel viage autrement en sa propre persone, Et sur ceo il commanda au dit Counte de Northumberland de faire la question de cest purpos des toutz les Seignours pur ent savoir lour advys.

Les ceux ent severalment examinez se consentent a cel purpos qe le Roi deust tenir le dit viage en noun de Dieux considerant la grand malice & rebellion de les Escotes sans deserte de sa partie ou offence. Et sur ceo le Roi mesmes molt graceusement esmerçant les dits Seignours de son bouche propre lour dist qe pur dispendre son corps & son

† Ibid. n. 80.

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fank en cel viage ou en aucune autre pur la salvation de son roialme jamais il nes pernera si Dieux lui doigne la vie.

* **I**TEM mesme le jour les dits communes monstrent a nostre dit Seignour le Roi, coment a bone governance de chescun roialme trois choses feurent necessairement requis cestassavoir seen humanite, & richesse, desqueux vertues toutes ensembles Dieux de sa tres puissante grace avoit endowez mesme nostre Seignours le Roi en double manere. Primerement quant a seen Dieux lavoit purveux en la persone du Roi, come il est bien monstrez per experience de fait & auxi del seen qest en les honourables persones des Seignours espirituelx & temporelx de son roialme come notairement est conuz. Secondement quant a humanite, coment il ne fust pas disconuz as toutz les estats de son roialme & as plusours autres roialmes de la humanite qe Dieux ad mys en sa persone roiale, & coment qe mesmes les communes sauroient pluis dire ou parler en cest matire unqore ils se vorroient de purpos abstenir a cause qe ils dirroient ceo qils sceussent dire celle partie ils seroient tenuz pur flatterers & glosers, & auxint coment Dieu de sa grace ad mys humanite en les Seignours temporelx, & en la Chivalrie & les Gentilx de son roialme dont les uns ont este mys en essaie devant ces heures diversment & les uns sont persones ables & de grand courage & volente ils feussent mys en oeuvre ou assaie. Tiercement quant a richesse, coment il est overtement conuz de les entiers coers qeux nostre Seignour le Roi avoit de son people devant son darrein venue en Engleterre & en son venue & puis son venue. Et outre ceo les dits communes monstrent a mesme

* Rot. Parl. 2 Hen. 4. n. 12.

nostre Seignour le Roi que la plus greindre tresor & richesse du monde est a chescun Roi d'avoir le coer de son peuple, qar per consequence fil ait le coer il est verraisemblable qil avera ceo que lui busoigne de leur biens. Et per tant toutes cestes trois choses cestassavoir, seen humanite, & richesse sont entirement comprises en l'honorable persone nostre dit Seignour le Roi come deffuis est dit. Et puis apres les dits communes monstrent a nostre Seignour le Roi que come ils avoient entenduz que certains Seignours, & autres dignes & sufficientz Persones de cest roialme feurent chalengez per les Franceis per subtile ymagination de mesmes les Franceys a quel entent home ne sceit, que lui plese considerer, coment il est plus semblable que les Franceys se purposent d'avoir les guerres que la paixet en cas que les guerres se prendroient, qil pleust au Roi de considerer en especialle que les Persones de seen humanite & richesse, ceux sont qensi au present sont chalengez & que le service ils purroient faire a mesme nostre Seigneur le Roi celle partie si le cas adveigne Et auxi considerez les grandes coustages des dits chalengez, si cel purpos fa preigne & auxi la grande aventure de leur corps diversement. Et sur ceo per advys des toutz les Seignours en cest parlement faire restreint des dits chalengez & qils ne passent aucunement. A quoi leur feust responduz per le Roi qil voet ent estre advisez per les Seignours & communes & sur ceo per l'aide de Dieux eux faire le mieulx pur la salvation del honour des dits chalengez & outre ceo mesme nostre Seignour le Roi moelt graciousement remercia les dits Seignours & communes del grande tendresse qils avoient pur salvation de lui & de son roialme & del grand tresor de leur coers quel ils lui avoient monstrez si entirement come deffuis est dit leur empriantz de lui conseiller coment cel tresor purra plus longement estre gardez & mieultz despenduz

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al honour de Dieux & de son roialme & il le voet
fuir. Et sur ceo il feust dit de per le Roi as dits
Seignours & communes destre advisez sur les ma-
tires suis dites.

—***E**T puis apres les dits communes prièrent
a mesme nostre Seignour le Roi, qe
come Dieux de sa benigne grace & per les gracioufes
mesmes nadgaires esteantz a la bataille & discom-
fiture sur les Escotes lui avoit qe furent envoyer ses
enemys ore en ses mayns qe pleust a mesme nostre
Seignour le Roi pur la salvation de sa persone roiale
de son roialme & de ses lieges per advys & sage
conseil des Seignours espirituelx & temporelx & de
son honourable conseil ensi ordeigner en cest parle-
ment qe cel busoign soit mesnez traitez & gouvernez
per manere qe purra estre plaissant a Dieux & aide,
paix & tranquillete de tout son roialme & de ses
lieges. Et outre ceo prièrent mesmes les comunes
a nostre Seignour le Roi qil lui pleust ore a la venue
de Count de Northumberland au parlement lui
honourer & tenir en chierce & lui mercier de ses
grands labour & diligence ceux il a deu & sustenez
sur la dite disconfiture qe le Dieux lui ad envoyez
sur les Ecotes a ceste foitz.

† **I**TEM Meskardy le tierce jour de Marce le
Chancellor d'Engleterre monstra as Seignours
coment les Ambassiatours du Roi avoient este en
Pruis & Hanse & autres parties de pardelea pur
treter de paix & de concord & coment sur un
certain appointment illoeqes fait proclamation se
ferroit qe le lieges du Roi qavoient attempte vers

* Rot. Parl. 4 Hen. 4. n. 12.

† Ibid. 5 Hen. 4. n. 10.

ceux de Pruce & de Hanse deussent faire restitution des dits attempts surqoy accordez est per les dits Seignours qe proclamation soit fait per brief solone le purport du dit appointment, come per l'enrollement en la chancellerie des dits briefs & des autres severalx briefs directs as dits lieges & autres, & auxi de diverses commissions faits as diverses persones celle partie y purra pluis pleinement apparoir.

† Item monstra mesme le jour le dit Monsieur Johan, coment le chastel de manlyon qe est le chief de trois roialmes est en mayns de Monsieur Charles de Navar qest alien & coment mesme se chastel est inhabitez ovesqe diverses aliens nient lieges au Roi & per tant il pria qun Engleys purroit estre lieutenant & capitaine illoeqes & qe les Engleyses & autres de la ligeance du Roi purront demeurer el dit chastel pur la salvation dy cell & del pays environ.

* — **T**iercement pur cherrier les estrangers ses amys, & autre ce de faire, resistance en contre sez enemys de hors le roialme. Pur quelx choses y covient davoit bon & sufficeant conseil en especial & pertant qe mesme nostre Seigneur le Roy ne vorroit faire sans advys & bon conseil des ditz Seignours esperituelx & temporelx & auxi de les communes suis dits, il ad envoiez pur eux a presant davoit leur bon conseil & advys en cestes matiers & sur se faire ce qe ferra plaisant a lui tout puissant & pluis expedient & profitable pur le bien de lui & de tout son roialme.

‡ Item Lundy le xxij. jour de May viendrent les communes devant le Roi & les Seignours en parlement & illoeqes le dit William de Stourton parlour pur les dits communes rehercea coment entre autres

† Rot. Parl. 5 Hen. 4. n. 57.

* Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. 5. n. 2.

‡ Ibid. N. 8.

articles moeves au temps del prononciation de mesme le parliament y fust desirez par le Roy & per advys des Seignours & communes illoeqes esteantz qe bon governance se purra faire & estre tenuz & gardez en temps aveniz reherceant qen temps nostre Seignour le Roi son Pierre qe Dieux affoyle y feust plusieurs foitz requis per les dits communes de bon governance & lour requeste grante mes coment y fust tenuz & perfourmez en apres mesme nostre Seignour le Roi en ad bon conuzance. Et pur tant pria le dit parlour en noun des dits communes qe come Dieux lui ad endowez de grande seen & des plusieurs autres bountees & virtues qe desorenavant bon governance se purra faire & tenir & per especiale en les marches d'Escoce & pur le saufgard du meer & de la ville & marche de Caley & de la pays de Guyenne & de la terre d'Irland & pur la resistance des rebelx de Gales & pur cesser les riotes & debates en lez marches de Gales & en especial de considerer le riote nadgaries fait en Cirencestre en contre l'abbe & le maison illoeqes qest de la foundation nostre Seignour le Roi & les plusieurs autres riotes faites de jour en autre en diverses parties deinz le royaume. A qoy per commandement de mesme nostre Seignour le Roi feust responduz au dit parlour qil per advys de sez compaignons mettroit en escript especialement les dits compleintz & le Roi lour verroit purvoier de remede per advys des Seignours en parlement a plus tost qe se purra faire resonablement.

† Item Joedy le xxv jour de May Johan Doreward & autres certains persones envoyez de per les communes viendrent devant nostre Seignour le Roi & les Seignours esperituelx & temporelx esteantz en la chambre de conseil deinz la chambre de par-

† Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. 5. n. 9.

lement & illoeqes rehercea coment Lundy darreint
passé y feust desirez de per le Roi qe les communes
balleroient en parlement les articles dessuis nomez
pluis espeçialement en escript & per tant qe le dit
parlour le granta de la faire sons advys & assent de
ses dits compaignons, le dit Johan Doreward en
Noun des dites communes pria le Roi de leur avoir
pur excusez per certains causes qe per aventure
purroient estre delay & retardation du parlement
& qe pleust au Roi nostre Seignour d'accepter une
cedule breifment apoyntez de les articles dessuis
dits aqoy feust responduz qe nostre dit Seignour le
Roi voillant monstrier bon Seignourie & voluntee a
ses dits communes graciousement accepte la dite
cedule & lieur tient bien excusez de les grante &
promesse a lui faits per le dit parlour en parlement
de qele cedula la tenurefensuent.

Articles monstrez en presence du Roi par le par-
lour de parlement.

Touchant la terre d'Irland.

Touchant la marche de Gales.

Touchant la marche d'Escoce.

Touchant la marche de Caleys.

Touchant la Duchee de Guien.

Touchant la faufgarde de meer.

Touchant la navie d'Engleterre.

Touchant establisement de bone governance ove
due obeyfance a les leys deinz la roialme.

Touchant seur provisiõne pur resistance de les
Enemys.

* — **L** Evêsqe de Wincestre chancelier d'Eng-
leterre recita & declara per commande-
ment du Roy les causes de mesme l'adjournement

* Rot. Parl. 3 Hen. 5. n. 14.

un pur tant qe chescun des dits Seignours & communes fervir purroit le solempne feste de Pasqe le dit adjournement ensuant a sa propre lieu & Esglise, & lui accorder illoeqs ovesqe son salveour, solone l'auncien usage & custume; une autre purtant qe le Roi per certains messages ja tard apris coment pees & bon accord de parte son adversaire de France ad este moeve & desire per lui & nostre dit tres soveraigne Seignour as ceux il ad a tout temps appliee, la droit de sa corone toutz dits sauvez, le quel, sans assent & le bon conseil destates de roialme ne vorra concluder. Et la tierce, pur ceo qe le tres honorable Prince le Roi de Romaines desirant principalement pees & unitee en l'Esglise universelle & auxi per entre roialmes & roialmes Chrestiens soy ad afforcee & labouree envers la partie Francysie davoit pees & bon accord ovesqe nostre Seignour tres Sovereign avant dit & ses lieges & a cel entent est ja tard venuz hors de France cy en Engleterre ove tiele reporte come ill est la qell nest mye unqore a Roi publiee mes deinz brief temps y ferra a Roi demonstre sur la quelle le Roi en apres par bone advise de son tres sage conseil cy present purra estre appris qe a lui soit le mieulz profitable & honourable affaire en le matire. Et puis furent les dites communes chargez de parte le Roi qils procedent avaunt entour lour communes busoignes & affaires le meen temps.

† — **E**T ore est ceste le sisme parlement nostre dit soveraign Seignour en le quel, per le force & execution du bon & gracious aide conseil & assistance des Seignours & communaltee du roialme cy presents a donerz & purveierz en ycell tiel effect & exploit, par la haute grace de Dieu en

† Rot. Parl. 4 Hen. 5. n. 3.

la dit querelle se prendront, qen apres de guerre
cesserons & a pees & quiete perpetuelle aviendrons.

† Fait assavoir qe sur certains alliances per entre
nostre souverain Seignour le Roi pur lui ses heires
& succeffours Rois d'Engleterre dune parte, & le
honorable Prince Segismond le Roi des Romains
pur luy & ses succeffours Rois de Romains dautre
parte nadgaires pris & accordez solone leffecte & la
fourme especifiez es lettres patentes nostre dit so-
vereigne Seignour ent faitz & en cest present par-
liament overttement monstrez & declarez, des ceux
lettres la tenure cy ensuit.

Henricus Dei Gratia Rex Angliæ, &c.

Le Roi nostre tres souverain Seignour suis dit
voillant qe les dits alliances duissent estre perpe-
tuelx u sur tous les choses contenuz en les dits let-
tres due et solemne trettee en ceo mesme parlement
ovesqe tres toutz les Ercevesqes, Evesqes, Ducs,
Countes, & Barouns, & toutz autres estats Espiri-
tuelx & Temporelx & auxint les communes du
roialme en mesme le parlement assemblez les dits
alliances & confederations & toutz les choses avant
dits en manere & fourme en les dits lettres patentes
recitez de leur comun assent & consent en le dit
parlement & per l'auctorite dicell qange en nostre
dit souverain Seignour est pur lui & ses heires &
succeffours avant ditz ratifia approuva & confirma
& de fait ratifie approuve & confirme per ycestes.

* **F**AIT assavoir qe le xxi jour de November
Thomas Rokeby Chivaler, Walter de la
Pool Chivaler, William Baynard Christopher de
Corwen & Robert Darcy envoyez per les com-
munes du roialme en cest present parlement esteantx

† Rot. Parl. 4 Hen. 5. n. 14.

* Rot. Parl. 2 Hen. 6. n. 10.

a Monseigneur le Duc de Glocestre & a les autres Seignours Esperituelx & Temporelx en mesme la parlement declarerent per le dit William qe touz leur compaignons les Chivalers citizens & burgois venuz a dit parlement pur toute commune du roialme de tres toutz leur coers remercieront mon dit Seignour Duc de Glocestre & toutz les autres Seignours suis dits qe leur pleust de faire les dits communes davoit notice & conizance per declaration de Monseigneur le Chanceler a eux jatard faite de la treetee sur les matieres touchantes le Roi d'Escocce movez per entre les dits Seignours & les ambassatours du roialme d'Escocce, cestassavoir pur la delivrance du dit Roi d'Escocce & des hostages apprendre pur ces costages ; & auxi pur sa marriage, les queux matiers sembleront as dits communes bones & profitables pur nostre Seignour le Roi & de tout son roialme fils purroient per leur tres sages discretions tendre a bon & final conclusion ; en suppliantz a les Seignours suisdits qe leur plerroit sur la treetee des dits matiers en outre proceder & ycelles solone leur tres sages advys & discrecions finalement concluder & ceo fait, de faire les dits communes de mesme la conclusion avoir notice & conifance a le tres grande consolation & confort si bien deux come de toute la commune du roialme.

† Memorandum, quod vicesimo octavo die Januarii, anno regni Regis Henrici Sexti post Conquestum secundo, concordatum fuit & ordinatum de avifamento Dominorum Spiritualium & Temporalium regni Angliæ, & assensu communitatis ejusdem in præsentî parlîamento existentium : quod pro inviolabili observacione & conservacione quorundum articulorum inter venerabilem patrem Wigornîæ episcopum, Joannem Stafford thesaurarium Angliæ, Willielmum Alnwyk custodem

† Rot. Parl. 2 Hen. 6. n. 27.

privati sigilli, legum doctores; Radulphum Dominum de Cromwel, Johannem Pelham militem, Willielmum Harynton militem, Robertum Waterton armigerum, & Johannem Stokes legum doctorem, commissarios sive deputatos ipsius Domini Regis, & venerabilem patrem Willielmum Glasquen. episcopum; abbates monasteriorum de Tambuskneith & de Balburmach, Patricium de Dunbar de Bele, Robertum de Lawedre de Edrynton milites; nec non Egidium de Borthwyck archidiaconum Glasquen. & Patricium de Howeston licentiatum in legibus, canonicum Glasquen. ambassiatores & nuncios ex parte regni Scotiæ, pro liberatione Jacobi Scotorum Regis transmissos, in quodam tractatu inter eos habito appunctuatorum quædam literæ patentes sub magno sigillo ipsius Domini Regis fierent in forma subsequenti. HENRICUS Dei gratia Rex Angliæ & Franciæ, & Dominus Hiberniæ, universis & singulis, ad quos præsentis literæ pervenerint, salutem. Noveritis, quod cum nos nuper certos nostros commissarios sive deputatos; viz. venerabilem patrem Wigorniae episcopum, dilectos clericos nostros Johannem Stafford thesaurarium nostrum Angliæ, Willielmum Alnwyk custodem privati sigilli nostri, legum doctores; Radulphum Dominum de Cromwel, Johannem Pelham militem, Willielmum Harynton militem, Robertum Waterton armigerum, & Johannem Stokes legum doctorem: ipsos septem, sex, quinque, quatuor, aut ipsorum tres, sub certa forma constituerimus & ordinaverimus ad conveniendum, tractandum, concordandum, & finaliter concludendum cum venerabili patre Willielmo Glasquen. episcopo; abbatibus monasteriorum de Cambuskmeth & de Balmurmach, Patricio de Dunbar de Bele, Roberto de Lawedre de Edrynton, militibus; nec non * Georgio de Borthwyke archi-

* So in the Record.

diacono Glasquen. & Patricio de Howeston licenciato in legibus, canonico Glasquen. ambassiatoribus & nunciis ex parte regni Scotiæ, pro liberatione carissimi consanguinei nostri Jacobi Scotorum Regis transmissis, ipsique commissarii & deputati nostri, ac ambassiatores & nuncii regni Scotiæ subsequenter in numero sufficienti certis diebus & locis convenientes, & super liberatione prædicta & aliis ipsam concernentibus tractantes & conferentes nonnullos articulos inter ipsos concordatos in ea parte appunctuaverint; & inter cætera, quod primo die Martii prox. futur. commissarii nostri, præfatusque carissimus consanguineus noster Jacobus Rex prædictus, ac ambassiatores regni Scotiæ in ecclesia Dunelm. pro ulteriori expeditione & executione dictorum articulorum, ut præmittitur appunctuatorum convenient, prout in literis super hujusmodi appunctuamentis confectis de dat. London. quarto die Decembris, anno regni nostri secundo, ac sigillis dictorum commissariorum & ambassiatorum hinc inde sigillatis, plenius continetur. Nos hujusmodi appunctuamenta per dictos commissarios nostros, nostra auctoritate facta & conclusa, & ipsos in ea parte quatenus nos concernunt inviolabiliter observari facere volentes; ac de prudentia, circumspectione, fidelitate & industria venerabilium in Christo patrum, Johannis London. & Thomæ Dunelm. episcoporum ac carissimorum consanguineorum nostrorum Henrici Northumberland. Radulphi Westmorland. Comitum, & Richardi Nevyl gardiani west march. Willielmi Alnwyk custodis privati sigilli, Thomæ Domini de Dacre, Johannis Baronis de Greystock, & Roberti Umfravile, octo, septem, & sex eorum, plenarie confidentes, ipsos octo, septem, & sex eorum de assensu & avisamento Dominorum spiritualium & temporalium, ac communitatis regni nostri Angliæ in præsentī parlamento nostro existentium, fecimus

fecimus & constituimus commissarios, deputatos, five nuncios nostros, ad conveniendum cum præfato carissimo consanguineo nostro Jacobo Rege prædicto, & ambassiatoribus pro & ex parte regni Scotiæ quibuscunque deputatis five deputandis, primo die mensis Martii prox. futur. in ecclesia Dunelm. prædicta cum continuatione & prorogatione dierum & locorum ex tunc sequentium, si oporteat. Faciendum, ac ad recipiendum pro securitate hujusmodi appunctuatorum obsides literas obligatorias, cautionesque, & alias promissiones & juramenta concordata, tam ante præfati carissimi consanguinei nostri liberationem, quam etiam post tradenda, liberanda & facienda, obsidesque, ac literas, & securitates minus sufficientes & invalidas reproband. & recusand. atque sufficientes prætend. & admittend. & de numero & qualitate servitorum tam Anglicorum quam Scotorum, qui cum ipsis obsidibus pro tempore quo in regno nostro remanebunt, stare debeant concordand. & appunctuand. nec non ipsum carissimum consanguineum nostrum regem prædictum, juxta hujusmodi appunctuata, & ipsorum, vim, formam & effectum liberand. & finaliter quoad ipsius personam, de potestate nostra & regno nostro Angliæ dimittend. omniaque alia singula faciend. exercend. & expediend. quæ ad complementum & executionem prædictorum appunctuatorum hujusmodi necessaria fuerint, seu quomodolibet opportuna promittentes. Nos de assensu & avisamento prædictis, nos gratum, ratum, & firmum habituros totum & quicquid quod per dictos commissarios nostros octo, septem, & sex eorum, actum, gestum, five factum fuerit in præmissis, seu aliquo præmissorum. In cujus, &c.

* **I**TEM, considerato qualiter carissimus consanguineus Domini Regis dux Burboniæ

* Rot. Parl. 8 Hen. 6. n. 12.

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maxime ut dicebatur, affectabat ad tractandum cum Domino Rege & consilio suo pro financia & redemptione facienda pro deliberatione sua habenda qualiter etiam idem dux homageum ligeum eidem Domino nostro fecit; ac in membris suis per diversas infirmitates, adeo debilis, & quasi confractus devenit, quod se circa actus guerri nos de cætero occupare, aut arma in posterum gerere, ut creditur non valebit. Pensatis similiter, & diligenter attentis immensis dampnis & deperditis quæ dicto Domino Regi per mortem prefati ducis, si ipse ante tractatum hujusmodi deficeret, de facili possent evenire, ac etiam quantum financia sua predicta dicto Domino nostro Regi proficeret, si tractatus hujusmodi effectum debitum fortiretur, de avisamento dominorum spiritualium & temporalium in præsentī parliamento existentium concordatum fuit, ac expediens videbatur eisdem, quod Dominus noster Rex & dictum consilium suum circa tractatum predictum intenderent cum effectu.

† **I**TEM for as moche as in the trettee of the pees made nought longe agoo bytwyxe the Kyng of noble memorie Hen. the V^{te}. late our soveraigne Lord and his fadre Charles of Fraunce yt ys conteyned that noon of the parties shall entree or make ony trettee of pees or accord with Charles the Daufyn withoute the assent of the estats of bothe remnys that is to sey of Englonde and of Fraunce. And it is hold for certein that our holy fadre the Pope sendeth nowe downe into Fraunce the most reverend fadre in God the Cardinal of Seint Crois to trettee the pees bytwyxe the Kyng and the seyde Daufyn. And also the Kyng of Spayne sent hider but late agoo his ambassadeures which

† Rot. Parl. 9 Hen. 6. n. 18.

entred treete of pees the which treete is yit hanging betwyx the Kyng our sovereygne Lord and hym for theym theyre remnys Lordshipps and subgettz. And semblably the Kyng of Scotts hath send nowe hider his solemne ambassadeures to treete a pees finale betwyx the Kyng and him and theyre two remnys. And as every mon endowed wyth reson may well consydere that nys nought covenable ne fyttynge ne lyke to be to the plesire of God ne of the world a Cristen Prynce to refuse pees offred with menys resonable ne the treete therof yf that be desyred of hym the whych by the law of God hym owed to persue and folowe. And alsoo consyderyng the burdon of the werre and howe grevous and hevy that ys to this londe and howe behofful therefore the pees were to hit. Yt ys ordeyned and advysed by the Lords spirituelx and temporelx and comyns being in this present parlement that my Lords of Bedford and Gloucester and my Lord Cardinal and other of the Kyngs blood and of his counseyl may treete the pees on the Kyngs behalf with the feyd partyes or any other. And yf theym thynk the menys of pees offred by that other partys covenable and good to the Kyng and his subgettz theine to receive hem. And semblably to offre for the Kyngs partye menys that shall be thought to them convenable and expedient and by swich menys to conclude and accord the pees to Goddes plesure. Saving to the feyde roialme of Englonde and to all the Kyngs lieges and subgettz thereof theyre heires and theyre successours all theyre libertees freedoms laws customes and priviledges that theytheyre auncestres and predecessours haveth had afore this tyme in the feid roialme. And that they and itche of theym be demened and governed after the laws usages and customes of the feid roialme of Englonde and in noon otherwyse this act notwithstanding.

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* — **J**AMQUE prefatus Dominus noster Rex ex fide digna relatione dicit quod prefatus Dux Burgundiæ cum prefato adversario suo Franciæ pacem iniit & eidem parti adversæ contra dictum dominum nostrum regem totis viribus satagit adhærere sicque videtur quod eundem dominum nostrum regem premissa trupha & derisoria per dictam partem adversam oblata admittere & nomen stilum titulum & honorem Regis Franciæ dimittere aut dictum regnum suum Franciæ ac jura & Dominia sua ibidem & in Ducatu suo Normanniæ armata potentia defendere oportebit ut igitur idem Dominus noster Rex super premissis ac aliis pro defensione dicti regni sui Angliæ necessariis & opportunis per ipsorum Prelatorum procerum & communium sanas discretionem possit avisari, dictum presens parliamentum ex assensu consilii sui, fecit convocari, &c.

† — **A**ND also my sayd Lord of Suffolke in this his sayd declaration, notified to my said Lords how in his sayd being beyond the see bee the Kings commandment for the causes above said hee neither uttered ne communed of the specialtie of the matters concerning in any wise the said treaty of peace nor of what manner of thing the same treaty should be, but only referred it to our said sovereign Lord, and to all those the which he will call to him in this matter at the coming of the said ambassiatours into this realme. And also my said Lord of Suffolke said at the same time to my sayd Lords, how hee afore that time had opened this matter to the King and advartized him the same and then the King gave him in commandment

* Rot. Parl. 14 Hen. 6. n. 2.

† Rot. Parl. 23 Hen. 6. n. 19.

to open the said matters as well to my sayd Lords being in this present parliament as to the Commons assembled in the same parliament in their house accustomed; the which matters so opened by my Lord of Suffolke to my said Lords by force of the Kings commandement he by the same commandement the third day of June then next following to the said Commons in their house accustomed in the presence of certaine Lords Spiritual and Temporal there then being present opened and declared praying all the Commons that they would have this in their remembrance that in the wise aforesayd whatsoever fell for defaute of provision for that lond that thus he had acquitt him to the King apart and to all the Lords and hereof he desired an act to be entered in the parliament roll the which was granted him.

* **I**TEM quidem actus per prefatum Dominum nostrum Regem ac Dominos & communes supradictos factus fuit in parlamento predicto in forma subsequenti. How hit be that in a treaty of peace made betwixt the King of noble memory Henry the Fifth fader unto our soveraigne Lord the King and his fader Charles of France. 'Tis among other things contened that none of the parties should enter or make any treaty of peace or of accord with the Kings Uncle that now is, that time called Charles the Daufin, without the assent of three estates of each reames that is to say of England and of France, which afterwards by parliament in this reame was authorised in the time of your sayd noble fader; the King will by the assent of his Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Comyns of this present parliament that the sayd article so authorised be

* Rot. ibid. n. 24.

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voyd irrite cassed adnulled and of noe force ne effect, and that no person or persons for his faithful and true council given or be given unto the King after the witt and grace that God list to give him or any of them shall be impeached hurt or greved but shall stand therefore at all dayes quite and discharged against him and his heirs and successors for evermore; saying alway to his reame of Englonde, and to all his leiges and subjects thereof, their heirs and their successors all their liberties freedoms laws customes and privileges that they their auncestors and predecessors have had within this reame afore this time except the matter that is comprised in the article abovesaid and that they and each of them be demened and governed after the laws usages and customes of this said reame of Englonde and in none otherwise this act notwithstanding neither that any hurt nor greve in any wise grow to the comyn of this reame their heirs nor successors in time to come, by force of this present act nor by any thing therein conteined.

† — **B**UT first that it was to be remembred the estate and condition that this reame stood in other then it dide at the time of the Kings entre to use and take upon him his right and title as veray and rightful King of Englonde.

For at that time this land was full naked and barreyn of justice, the pees not kept nor laws duely ministred within the same. And was also spoiled of the crown of France the dutchies of Normandy Gascoigne and Guien and also with enmete environed and leide about on every side, as with Denmark Spayne Scotland Breteyne and other parties. And alsoo with our old and auntient enemys of France.

† Rot. Parl. 7 Edw. 4. n. 26.

And how it was then he reported him unto theym they understood it well ynowe for it appeareth at iye and sheweth it self thanked bee Almighty God. And what the King hath donne to the performeing of his sayd intent hee declared that how first his sayd Highness had laboured a stablishment and pees in his own reame.

And also he had concluded with the King of Spaine a leige and perpetuell pees with entrecourse of merchaundise.

Also a pees and leige with the King of Danemark and entrecourse of merchaundise.

Also an amity and entrecourse of merchaundise with his old friends of Almayne.

Also a pees with Scotland for one winter.

Also an amity and leige with entrecourse of merchaundise taken with the King of Naples.

And also how that it was in a good way for a leige and amity with entercourse of merchaundise to be taken with the King of Arragon, which had been doon er that time if the ambassatours of Arragon had had full and sufficient power which he supposed should be reformed in short time.

And over that had made an amitie and confederation with high and mighty Prince the Duke of Burgoigne which should wedde the Lady Margaret the King's suster.

And also an amity and confederation with the Duke of Breteyne which two Dukes been the meghtiest Princes that holden of the crowne of Fraunce.

All which labours confederations and conclusions he had laboured and bourne on his great cost and charge as well by sending out of ambassatours as in resceiving of ambassatours for the same forthwith grete and notable rewardes moniways.

And all these labours and matiers he had used and done at his propre charge as meanes to a principal

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cipal intent (that is to say) to minish and less the power of his old and antient adversary of Fraunce the French King whereby his said Heyhness shuld mowe the lightlyer and rather recover his right and title to the crowne and lond of Fraunce, and possession of the same.

Wherefore his seid Heyhnesse was fully sett and purposed, with the might and help of Almighty God, and with the advyse and assistens of his Lords Spirituell and Temporell, and also of the Commons of this lond, to proceed and perfourme his said principal intent for the defens of this lond, that is to sey, to goe over the see into Fraunce, and to subdue his grete rebel and adversary Lowes usurpant King of the same, and to recover and enjoy the title and possession of the seid reame of Fraunce forthwith his Dutchies and Lordships of Normandie, Gascoigne, and Guien, and other: and to that end and purpose his Heyhness is dayly called upon, and also written and send unto, by outward Princes as the Duke of Burgoigne, which was one of the moost mightiest Princes of the world that beareth noo crowne.

And the Duke of Bretayne and others seying and promising that and he would come and procede unto the recovery of his seid right and title they would goe and labour with him in their owne persones for the recovery of the same at their costs and expences.

For they sey and certifie dayly unto the King's Highness, that in theyre conceites there was never noon of the King's progenitours, or predeceffours, that ever had such a convenient season for the recovery thereof as he then hadde if yt were used in tyme. Whereupon they harken and the tyme were not used they moost provide for themself.

For certain it is thoo' Princes be mortal and have no issue malle; and what chaunge and casueltee of

the world might fall yf the tyme were not used while there were opportunity God knoweth. For it is the seying of wise men, that convenient tyme and expedient wold alwey be used and not lost.

For time is a grete thing in advantage, and better it were to prevent the tyme and occupie the said aduersarie at home, than to suffre him to entre this lond and occupie us here.

For doutlesse and the King goe not thither, his said aduersarie wuld come hither, and what pollicy wuld be therein reported hym unto theyr wisdomes, desiring the said Lords spirituel and temporel and comyns consideryng the premisses and the state that the londe then stood in. And that as whose seieth the King had then but oone enemy, that is to say the Fraunch King, from whome the King our said soveraign Lord had drawen away by meanes the mightiest Princes that held of his said aduersarye as it hath bene above reherfed. And specially as a meane to his seid principal entent had laboured marriage to be had betwixt the said Duke of Burgoine and his suster.

Which matter amongst meny of the Lordes spirituel and temporel in his counsaile late hold at Coventre was shewed and declared, which matter the King's Highnesse, because they were then present more plener in nombre, entended then to open and declare unto theym by his owne mouth, and alsoo his entent and disposition for the recovere of his seid title and right to the crowne of Fraunce to yeve theyre seid avyse and counsaile unto him in that behalfe.

Considering moreover and remembering in their grete wisdomes his age and habilitie;

And also the grete corage and fervens that he had to the defens of this his londe, and that he wuld spend his time in his dayes to the honor of

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the londe and worshippe of God, as heretofore his noble progenitours had done.

Considering also the disposition of the people of this londe how that they must be occupied.

And alsoo that the disposition and entent of his seid adversary was to lond and entre this reame. And how God had marked and sett the hearts of his friends, straunge Princes outwards, to assist hym, which dayly wrote and sent unto hym for the same it was marvelous to think upon.

And therefore yf the tyme were not used, peradventure thoo that then were friends, might chaunge into enemys, were too grete a losse.

These causes and things, and meny other, moved the King's Highness soe that he might have the assistance of the three estates of this lond, and that every of them wuld doe his office and duete to procede and follow the recovere of his reame of Fraunce and lordshipps beyond the see for the wel surete pees and defens of his lond with the grace of God.

* **T**HE King calling unto his tendre remembrance how that in tymes passed unto now of late, the merchants and people of the nation of Almayn being under, and of the confederation, ligue, and company, called the Dutchie Hanze, otherwise called merchants of Almayne, haveing the house in London commonly called Guildhalda Teutonico-rum, have had and used free and freindly communication and entercourse of merchandize with his subjects of this his noble reame of Englund, and they with theym, to the encrease avayle and commonwele of both parties, as experience evidently hath proved.

* Rot. Parl. 13 Edw. 4. n. 2.

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And how that sithen the oo partie toke displeasure ayents that other, grete inconveniences losses and damages have ensued, not onely by meane of open werre doone and exercise by either upon other, but also in withdrawing the accustomed advantages and commodities which else shuld have comen to him, his seid subgettes, and theym alsoo, by free intercourse they bere in his seid reame, and his seid subjets in their parties and countreys exercising fete of merchaundize as it is well known.

In consideration whereof, and to thentent that by Godds grace the werre and hostilite that hath be betwixt both parties may utterly seasse and be avoyded, the old friendlyhood also betwixt them to be renoveled in such wise as it may abide and endure for ever;

By thadvyse and assent of the Lords spirituelx and temporelx and the comyns in this present parlement assembled, and by auctorite of the same, wolle of his gracious and bounteous disposition, that it be ordeyned establisshed and enacted that noon of the sayd merchants, &c.

—Whereunto the sayd merchants of the Hanze by their orators have assented and agreed, &c.

Nos considerantes præfatos mercatores Aleman-
niæ mercatores Hanze Teutonicæ vulgariter nuncupatæ in dicto regno & dominiis nostris dictis suis privilegiis libertatibus concessionibus & indultis occasione guerrarum turbationum & hostiliatum jam nuper inter subditos nostros & ipsos de Hanza predicta contingentium destitutos & exinde tam ipsos quam subditos nostros multipliciter fuisse & esse lessos ex certis bonis respectibus nos moventibus de avisamento & assensu Dominorum spirituum & temporalium ac communitatis regni nostri Angliæ in præsentî parlamento nostro existentium &

& auctoritate ejusdem parliamenti ac certa nostra sciencia pro nobis & heredibus ac universis successoribus nostris ipsos mercatores Hanze in pristinum statum utendi & fruendi in dicto nostro Angliæ regno & aliis locis nobis subjectis supradictis suis omnibus & singulis privilegiis libertatibus concessionibus & indultis quæ fuerunt aut esse debuerunt si guerræ turbationes & hostilitates hujusmodi non contigissent reponenda & integre restituenda duximus ac tenore presentium reponimus & integre restituimus si quod supradicti mercatores Hanze predictæ & eorum successores universis privilegiis libertatibus concessionibus & indultis supradictis uti & frui debeant perpetuis futuris temporibus eo modo quo usi sunt aut usi fuissent si predictæ guerræ turbationes & hostilitates non accidissent, &c.

ARTICLES
DU TRAITE
D'ENTRE
LA FRANCE ET L'ANGLETERRE
FAIT
PAR LE CARDINAL MAZARIN
ET CROMWEL.

ART. I.

QUE le traite d'entre Henry le Grand, la feüe Reine Elizabeth, & feu Roi Louis xiiij avec Jacques Stuart, successeur de la dite feüe Reine, fere renouvelé.

ART. II.

Que la somme de 9 millions de livres prestées par la dite feüe Reine Elizabeth avec Henry le Grand, feu les interets liquides à 13 millions, seront remboursée a la Republique d'Angleterre, comme estant au lieu & place des sus dits Rois.

ART.

ART. III.

Que moyennant le sus dit payement la sus dite Republique d'Angleterre, fournira, & entretiendra, a ses dépens 12 navires de guerre, dans la Méditerranée, pour y joindre l'armée navale de France, & recevoir les ordres de son Admiral, sur les expéditions qui seront afaire contre l'Espagne, & six autres pour croiser la mer de Dunkerk, pour y empescher les vivres.

ART. IV.

Que la Republique d'Angleterre sera obligée de fournir au Roi de France 40 navires de guerre, pour aider a reprendre Dunkerk & Gravelin, & icelles reprises le dit Roi assistera de son armee a la dite Republique, pour aider a reprendre Ostende & Niuport.

ART. V.

Qu'il y aura ligue offensive & deffensive entre la France & l'Angleterre, envers tous & contre tous, & que le Roi d'Angleterre, le Duc de York & de Gloucester, & autres Seigneurs Anglois sortiront hors de France, sans esperer rentrer tant qe le traité durera, & qu'au regard de la Reine d'Angleterre, comme elle est Fille de France, elle n'y bongera. En revanche la Republique d'Angleterre, ne recevra, ni donnera aucune retriante aux ennemis de ce't estat,

ART.

ART. VI.

Qu'en toutes les villes & bourgs de ce royaume, ou il y aura des havres, & des ports, la nation Angloise y aura commerce, & y pourra faire bastir des temples pour l'exercise de la religion, & fera permis aux Francois de la religion, qui y seront aux environs, d'y faire prescher en Francois.

ART. VII.

Que les Edits de Janvier & de Nantes seront executez selon leurs formes & teneurs & toute la nation Angloise demeurera caution pour l'execution des dits edits.

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THE
TRUE PICTURE
OF
A MODERN WHIG,
SET FORTH
IN A DIALOGUE
BETWEEN
MR. WHIGLOVE AND MR. DOUBLE,
TWO UNDER-SPUR-LEATHERS
TO THE LATE
MINISTRY.

THE
TRUE PICTURE
OF
A MODERN WHIG
IN A DIALOGUE
BETWEEN
WHIGGERS AND MODERATES
BY
H. M. T. H.

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THE
TRUE PICTURE
OF
A MODERN WHIG, &c.

WHIGLOVE AND DOUBLE.

Whig- **S**IR, I am glad to meet you at Garraways.
love. I was coming to your house.

Double. And I came hither on purpose to find you: 'Tis very early, and there is no body upon the Exchange; when you have drunk your tea, if you please let us take a turn there. Pray when do you think of going into the country?

Whiglove. In three days at farthest; but I was resolved not to stir till I had received your particular directions how I shall behave myself in my progress.

Double. What circuit have our noble friends allotted you?

Whiglove. I am ordered for Kent and Suffex; Cousin Rattlehead went yesterday for Essex, Suffolk and Norfolk; Mr. Selfish and Mr. Project have all the north committed to their care; besides the common concern, they have business of their own, they are gone to look upon some estates that are to be sold, and have a great deal of money to lay out.

Double. Indeed they have made a fine hand of these times, you and I knew them both ten years ago

ago not worth a groat, and now each of them has his threeſcore thouſand pound ready for a purchaſe.

Whiglove. And the wonder is, they have got all this in little ſneaking employments, which heretofore did not afford a man a bottle of claret at night.

Double. Well much good may do their hearts, for though they have notoriously cheated the King and kingdom, they are very honeſt and hearty to us. There is no lye never ſo groſs they are not willing to ſpread abroad to carry on our deſigns. They diſperſe news, rail at ſome, and cry up others, juſt as they are directed; and to ſpeak truth, there are not two men in England that do more ſervice to the party.

Whiglove. I wiſh we had ſome more ſo qualified to make a progreſs through the other countries; but, I am ſorry to ſee it, there are a great many who though they have made their fortunes among us, are ready to change ſides. Have not you been told at whoſe houſe Mr. Rakeall and Mr. Plunder were the other day cringing? There are not two more worthleſs rogues in the kingdom. One of them was raiſed from nothing by my Lord O. my Lord H. put the other in a way to make a prodigious fortune, which he has done, and yet forſooth they muſt be creeping to the new miniſters. I ſhould be glad to ſee ſuch raskals as poor as Will. Killigrew.

Double. Look you friend mine do not be troubled at this; it is the principle of us Modern Whigs to get what we can, no matter how. But if the other ſide prevails, we muſt ſtrike in with them, however this muſt be our laſt ſhift; in the mean while let us do what we can to keep up our party, for men of our principles can never thrive ſo well under any new miniſtry as we did by the laſt, our endeavours therefore muſt be to bring them once more into play for many reaſons. They made uſe

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of none but such as were of our stamp and kidney; we had all the places and preferments, and then you know how kindly they winked at our cheating the publick, and if any of us were caught tripping how bravely did they defend us in the house of commons. Have they ever suffered any of us to be brought to condign punishment? When any of the country-puts had a mind to save the nation in its taxes, and to inquire into abuses, and into the expence of the mony they had granted, did not our noble friends always baffle them and their inquiries, and bring us off triumphantly?

Whiglove. I know you will never see such brave times as you had under them, it rained gold and silver, you wallowed in the peoples wealth, and if you could have held it ten years longer, you had bought all those country boobies out of their estates, who were wont to roar at you in Stephen's chappel.

Double. Well, all may be retrieved if we are stirring, and if we can but get the common people to be a little more of our side; nor is this hard to be done if we proceed to lye and rail stoutly, and if we continue to out-face truth and reason with our wonted confidence.

Whiglove. I shall do my part if others will likewise set their hands chearfully to the plough.

Double. That you need not fear, want of diligence has never been imputed to our party. Laziness is the fault of the other side. Did we not bestir our selves finely towards the latter end of this last sessions? Every body gave us for gone, we expected to be called to accompt for all our former rogueries, we dreamt of nothing but pillories, halters and axes, and yet you saw what an after-game we played by only devising a few lies which were spread seasonably through the kingdom: We took advantage of the fears people were under to

see France and Spain united; and though, under the rose, the partition-treaty our noble friends had made with Count *Tallard* the French Ambassador did throw Spain into the French power, and was the occasion of that cursed will which is like to bring so many mischiefs upon Europe; and though, to confess the truth, the management of our party has made France so great, yet we found means by some or other of our faction in the city, and in all the burrough-towns of England, to lay the whole blame upon the new ministers, and upon the house of commons. We bellowed every where (though we had not the least proof of it, nay though we ourselves knew the contrary) That the new ministers kept off the parliament, that the house of commons would give the king no supplies, that they were all bribed by France; and though our best friend the Ch——r had but a few months before writ word to the King, “That there was a dead-
“ness and want of spirit in the nation universally,
“so as not at all to be disposed to the thoughts of
“entering into a new war; and that they seemed to
“be tired out with taxes to a degree beyond what
“was discerned, until it appeared upon occasion
“of the late elections;” yet we roared every where for entering hand over head into immediate war.

Whiglove. But were not we a little too hot in that matter to desire a war should be proclaimed before any alliances were concerned, while all our merchants effects were abroad, and before our fleet was in any kind of readiness? Might not so sudden a quarrel with our neighbours have hurt the nation very much?

Double. Prithee what is the nation to us, provided our friends get into power, and are in a condition to make us thrive? If you talk or think of the public good, you will never become a right Modern Whig. Did not this crying-out for a war

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work to our ends? Had it not like to have set the nation in a flame? Did it not make the people begin to suspect all the best patriots? Was it not so ordered, that all they who withstood our madness were esteemed to be in the interest of France? Did not we get a good sawcy petition from your county of Kent? Were not hands gathering for petitions in several other counties? Did we not so impose upon the grave city of London, as to lose our petition but by one voice in the common council? If the frolic had gone round the nation as was intended, had we not fair hopes of making an irreconcilable difference between the rabble and the house of commons? So that by talking big for a foreign war, we had no ill prospect of stirring up a civil war at home, which is our true aim, and which indeed we want at present; for to deal plainly with you, in whom I dare confide, our party did behave themselves in such a manner while they were in power, they did rob the nation to that degree in all the stations they were in, and they are answerable for so many crimes; that we have but two things to trust to, we must either bring our friends again into play, who will protect us, or we must raise seditions and tumults, during which we may hope to pass unregarded, or at least unpunished.

Whiglove. I stand corrected, and allow you had reason to go on precipitately to a war; for you had raised a noble ferment in the nation, a competent number of the people were ripe for any mischief, and you had got a good share of the mob of your side, even against a house of commons, which hardly ever happened before in England. And when I consider these things, I cannot but wonder how matters came to end so quietly.

Double. You shall see that presently. But first let me tell you our design was well laid: We drew a sword upon the house of commons that had two

edges. If by our petitions we had frightened them into an immediate rupture with our neighbours, it had been called our war, and by the strength of our faction we had then brought our friends into the whole management of it. On the other hand, if they had flatly opposed us, and declared for peace, we would have made Jacobite and French Pensioner, so ring through the whole kingdom, that a dissolution should have been unavoidable, which if we could have obtained, the game had been our own, for, in such a heat as an abrupt dissolution occasions, we should have made the people believe that the French and Popery were coming in if all our bribed band of my Lord S——rs's and my Lord H——x's tools and flatterers were not elected. And if we could but have seen such an another parliament as that which sat six years, and as that which followed, we had so established ourselves that nothing could have shaken us for the future.

Whiglove. All this was well laid; it remains to shew how your measures came to be broken.

Double. The temperate proceedings of the house of commons blew these fine projections of ours into finoak. They encountered our noise and fury with sedate gravity and wisdom. They despised our libels and scurrilous discourses; so that we whom opposition would have rendered considerable, became nothing when the humour was suffered to spend it self without being regarded. The truth of it is, there is Seymour, Musgrave, and five or six old stagers of them, who mind popular clamours no more than the whistling of the wind; and so they pursue what appears to them honourable and safe for England, they value not of a button all that we can write or speak. This calmness, I say, of the house of commons, did quite put us beside all our play; we hoped our insolence, and the invasions which were elsewhere made upon their priviledges, would

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would have put them upon some warm way of vindicating their rights: we hoped, that as their ancestors had done upon the like occasions, they would have stoped short, and give no more supplies till full satisfaction had been made for the repeated affronts done to their authority; but instead of this, and instead of being in the flame we wished for, they went steddily on in providing for the kingdom's safety, and in supplying the King with five and twenty hundred thousand pound, all upon good funds, which is more than any of our Princes ever had in a year of peace. But that which most of all confounded us, was their last address, where they say, "That they
" will be ready on all occasions to assist his Majesty
" in supporting such alliances as his Majesty shall
" think fit to make in conjunction with the Emperor
" and States General, for the preservation of the
" liberties of Europe, &c." For the King, fortified by this strong resolution of his people, has it in his power to espouse the house of Austria's quarrel, and to engage us in a war, if he thinks war necessary at this time for the preservation of the liberty of Europe. This vote is an evidence that the commons trust the King, and his Majesty's speech at the close of the sessions, is a proof that the King was fully satisfied with the proceedings of his commons. These transactions made things conclude so quietly, to our great disappointment; so that we have no game now to play, but by new lies and inventions, to raise fresh animosities in the kingdom.

Whiglove. But pray tell me, the commons having in this manner encouraged the king to enter into new alliances, and with the Emperor, and the Emperor having drawn his sword in Italy, will not England be brought in at last? and have we not

fair hopes of a war which you seem so much to wish for ?

Double. The parliament no doubt will stand by the alliances they have advised and addressed for: But what good will that do us? A war upon a right foundation will profit us nothing. Your Seymours, your Musgraves, your Jack Hows, your Harleys, your Harcourts, your Foleys, your Copleys, your Mackworths, Bromlys, Levison Gowers, Bridges's, your Byerlys, Hammonds, and your Showers, will all come into such a war, and shine in the house of commons at the head of such a business ; but our party can reap no advantage but by a long, bloody and expensive war, begun and carried on against all right and reason : we want such a war as nobody in the nation but ourselves will be willing to support, and then we shall have the fingering of all the money that must be given to maintain it, which is what we would be at. As for example, a war to have justified the partition treaty would have done our work, for that was a matter few in parliament, but men of our stamp, would have engaged in : or we could like well enough a war to justify the Emperor in his pretensions to the whole succession of Spain, though all sober men will think that not very feasible.

Whiglove. I am glad you have given me this hint; you would have me then say in the countries where I go, that nothing will do but quite to dethrone the Duke of Anjou.

Double. Yes by all means cry up that project; it is true, grave people may laugh at you, and tell you it is not so easily to be done; but if they do, whisper it about that they are Jacobites and French Pensioners ; and at every turn when you want an answer, be sure to have those words ready in your mouth.

Whiglove. I shall learn my lesson. But will a war upon no other foot serve our ends ?

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Double. Take it from me, Sir, nothing else will do. But put the case now that the intentions of those who govern at present be to make war with the French, unless they remove their troops out of all the Spanish dominions whatsoever, and give the Dutch a sufficient and a safe barrier, and unless they will give the Emperor reasonable satisfaction, and such a part of the Spanish succession, as may make the house of Austria more a balance to the French power: if that be the scheme, let me tell you the country gentlemen will unanimously come into it; they will be one and all for such a just and reasonable war, and there will be such a right understanding between the King and his house of commons, as must end inevitably in the calling our noble friends to a strict account for all their past proceedings.

Whiglove. Indeed, Sir, we are all satisfied that nothing makes more for the interest of our party than that there should be a constant disagreement either between the two houses, or between the King and his house of commons.

Double. You take the thing justly. But by the way, lest I forget it, remember every where to cry up the partition treaty. They will perhaps say it hath been damned by both houses of parliament; no matter for that, do you reply, they condemned it before they understood it rightly; and then shrug up your shoulders, and cry, "I wish we had it now, it were better France had a part than the whole; I wish the Dauphin had Naples and Sicily, his father will have all: I warrant you, the Archduke would be glad at present to have Spain and the West Indies." For though all this is nothing but fallacy, and though the part allotted to the French would soon have made them certain masters of the whole, yet what I bid you say will

pass well enough among many of the fools you are to converse with.

Whiglove. Truly, Sir, I am very much beholden to you for the light you give me; but you are at the fountain-head. I am glad to drink of the water that runs below; you keep all the best company; I see our noble friends, when they do us the honour to come to Garraway's, take you along with them to dinner, at Puntack's, or at the Rummer, where they open to you all the mysteries of state.

Double. Their Lordships are indeed communicative enough, and extremely civil, especially when they are under adversity of any kind. They were, perhaps, a little too haughty when they had all in their hands, but now they are as kind and familiar as you would wish them. But I gad they dare not be otherwise to me, I know them inside and outside; I am master of all their private affairs; I am privy to all the corruption in their respective offices; most of their bribes went through my hands; I know the bottom of the transaction with Michael Godfrey, when the bank of England was set up; I was the go-between when the new East-India company was erected; I could tell you what Lords persuaded Seignoret, and the other French merchants to plead guilty to their impeachments; I know the whole matter of the prize office; I can tell you who was to have had Helmsly, if the Bill had passed against Duncombe, and who were to have shared all the rest of his manors. The knowledge of these and many other things makes me feared and valued by the whole party. And take this for a rule, if you would be respected by great men, you must wind yourself into all their dangerous secrets. Besides, I have good store of money in my pocket; and he who has that shall be esteemed and courted, let his birth be never so mean, or his life never so infamous.

Whiglove.

Whiglove. This has been a happy Revolution to you, Mr. Double, for if I am not misinformed, matters are well mended with you of late years.

Double. They are so, thanks to my industry. I am now worth 50,000 pound, and 14 years ago I had not shoes to my feet.

Whiglove. This is a strange and sudden rise.

Double. Alas! it is nothing, I can name you 50 of our friends who have got much better fortunes since the Revolution, and from as poor beginnings.

Whiglove. It would serve as a good instruction, if you would please to let me know how you did rise in the world. I am a gentleman born to some fortune and have good relations, yet I can do nothing, and rather grow worse than better in my estate, notwithstanding that all along I have been as hearty a whig as the best of you.

Double. That is true, but you have been always a whig out of principle, and we have no regard for such people at all, they are volunteers that will serve us for nothing; we value none but those who are whigs out of interest, and who, like captain Bessus in the play, are ready to do any thing, good, bad, or indifferent, that may promote our designs. I will lay you a guinea you think I was always a whig.

Whiglove. Truly, Sir, I ever took you for an original staunch whig, and for one who had despised the church, and disliked kingly government from your very cradle.

Double. Alas! you are utterly mistaken, and if you can make any profit from example, I will give you a short narrative of my whole life. I was first bound to a shoemaker in London, and being an impudent young rogue, I got into the gang of loyal apprentices that addressed to King Charles II, and I was one of those who were treated with Hide-Park

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venison at the Wonder Tavern. My grandmother, who sold barley-broth and furnity by Fleet-ditch, died and left me 300 pound, with which I set up for a gentleman and a spark ; and I was so remarkable a Tory, that I got a place in the customs of about 100 pounds a year. But in King James's time, the commissioners of the customs detected me in a notorious fraud, and turned me out, upon which I became a male-content.

Whiglove. I remember now the first time I saw you was in the beginning of King James's reign, at the Amsterdam Coffee-house, where one that had been a servant to King Charles II^d, was so uncivil as to strike you 16 or 17 times with a cane for railing at his dead master ; which rebuke you bore with a temper well becoming your wisdom.

Double. I have not forgot that passage. But to go on with my story. From the time I lost my office, I became a furious whig, and as long as my money lasted, I went to all the discontented clubs in town, where we drank confusion to the Government, and talked treason dagger out of sheath. But I was still so wise to set down in writing when I came home, what had passed among us.

Whiglove. Why did you that ?

Double. To be safe ; for with those materials I was prepared to be a witness in case any one of us had been taken up ; and to have saved myself, I was ready to hang all my companions.

Whiglove. It was indeed a piece of caution our party has always observed, nor have they been afterwards a jot the worse thought on for it.

Double. My grandmother's legacy was soon spent, and at last I was reduced to that necessity, that I was forced to be a corrector of a private press in a garret, for 3 shillings a week ; and in this miserable condition did I languish for near 3 years ; but at
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last fortune vouchsafed to give me a favourable smile, and it was just the week after the King landed at Torbay. I had eat nothing all day, and had not a farthing in my pocket, but knew an ale-house where I could have credit for a black pudding and a pot of ale; thither I stole about 6 at night, and found sitting at the kitchen-fire, smoaking his pipe, an Essex gentleman, who was formerly used to haunt Richard's Coffee-house: he was half seas over, and I perceived had been drinking the Prince of Orange's health. With my familiar confidence I presently accosted him; Mr. Aletope, said I, I am mighty glad of the honour to meet you here. He knew me, but seeing me in such a shabby dress, he received me somewhat coldly, upon which I drew him into a corner of the room and whispered to him that I was now in disguise; that for 2 years I had been abroad, in Rome, in Germany, and in Holland, to carry on the good work; that I was just come from Exeter with letters from our friends in the West. I told him I was going back to-morrow morning with bills of exchange for 150,000 pounds, and with letters from 45 Lords. In short, I told him above an hundred impossible stories and lies, all which he listened to gravely, and swallowed greedily; and when I had done, he began to think me a person of some importance. Mr. Double, said he, will you do me the honour to take a dish of meat and a glass of wine at my lodgings. I seemed unwilling, and that I was to rise early; but at last I yielded to his importunity, and thither I went. His servant was out of the way, and no wine was to be had: Come, saith he, let us have a game at back-gammon till the butler can be sent for; I knowing his itch to play, and how unskilful he was at it, readily closed with the motion, but told him, I had been used to deep play abroad, and
would

would not touch the dice unless he would play three up for twenty guineas: this startled my country gentleman; but being warm with wine, he cried, Come it is a match.

Whiglove. I hope you had false dice about you; for I remember our friends 20 years ago never went without their tackle, and made no scruple to cheat their dearest acquaintance the young whigs of their own party.

Double. I was not unprovided: my bubble was not drunk enough for me to bring in my false dice, and I lost 4 games running, but at last supper and the butler came to my relief. While we were at table, I entertained him with the correspondence I held with all the Princes of Europe; I told him I had lain three whole nights with the Duke of Lorraine; that I and the Elector of Brandenburg were sworn brothers; that I had made the last Duke of Saxony drunk 40 times; that I had given the Empress a ball at my lodgings in Vienna, where the Emperor himself danced a minuet; I told him I received letters every post from Pope Odescalchi. In short, I made myself in a manner the only contriver of the Revolution, the sole manager of all affairs abroad and at home, and that all employments would be at my disposal: But between every story I plyed my Essex calf with a bumper. When supper was ended, he told me he had a mind to some little place of about 1000 pound a year, which he might execute by a deputy, for that he hated business, and begged my interest to get it for him; with that I kissed him, and swore by G-d he should have it; after which he called for the tables, and bad me win back my four games if I could.

Whiglove. By that time I suppose he was so drunk that you could safely make use of your tackle.

Double. Yes faith, the bar quatre trays, the high and low dice were all in their turns, and at last the

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doctors themselves were made use of. Not to be tedious, he lost 200 guineas, which he paid me immediately out of his scrutore, but with five or six deep sighs. To cure this melancholy, I swore to him, when things were settled, he should be the first man I would have in my thoughts for an employment; upon which we parted, he full of hopes, and I full of money.

Whiglove. This was a lucky adventure.

Double. It proved so, as you shall see in the sequel. With this money I new rigged myself, from top to bottom, and soon after I went, very well mounted, to meet the Prince at Windsor: there no man was prater than myself; I gave out I was an old whig that had been persecuted and turned out of business for adhering to the Protestant Interest, and for refusing to take off the test and penal laws; I saluted every Lord I met there as familiarly as if we had been bred up together; I took Shrewsbury by the hand, and welcomed home Macklesfield and Mordaunt; I valued myself, with a loud voice, upon my services and sufferings: at every turn, I cried, We have done thus and thus, and we must do so and so, or else we are lost; such a one must be Secretary; we will have such a one in the treasury. By this assuming, and by my arrogant behaviour, I so recommended myself (especially to the strangers that came over) that in two days nobody was more careffed and taken notice of than honest Tom Double.

Whiglove. This was well wrought in so short a time.

Double. When we came to St. James's, I was always thrusting myself into the presence, and was never two yards from the Prince's person. I was the more encouraged to this, because I saw very many scoundrels like myself do the same. One day I had the impudence to offer to sit down to dinner with

with his Highness : but a gentleman who knew me better than the rest did, whispered me in the ear, and said, You saucy rascal, fall back into the crowd, and get you gone, or I will take a time to have you cudgelled and pumped ; upon which I withdrew somewhat daunted, but not a bit ashamed.

Whiglove. This check would have spoiled me for ever for a courtier.

Double. I gad it made no impression at all upon me ; I was at court next day as brisk as any body there ; I bragged of my interest in the city, and with the party ; I never had a less sum in my mouth than 3 or 400,000 pound ; I told them I could bring in five or six friends of mine that should lend the government that and more. And in the city I told them what Duke I had dined with ; what Lords were to sup with me ; that I had been the day before three hours with such a minister shut up in his closet : and by vapouring in this manner, and by giving myself these airs of power and greatness, I made such a figure, that my lodgings were so crowded that he thought himself happy who could get a whisper with me in a corner of the chamber ; some I used scurvily, and they cringed lowest ; to others I said gravely their business could not be done ; this doubled their attendance and gifts. Others I received with open arms, and told them they should be dispatched in six days. In short, I had clients of all kinds ; some of King James's delinquents applied to me to get them pardons : but I had vast numbers of people came to me to find out employments for them, none of which was contented with a less place than 5 or 600 pounds a year. I remember among the rest, there was a dapper young lawyer who came to me in a tattered gown from Westminster, and stole 20 guineas into my hand, desiring that my honour would be pleased

to

to make him a judge; and that when he had the place, I should have 30 more. I took his money, and undertook his business. But what I got most by was finding out crown-lands for others to beg: I had a ragged regiment of projectors and of officers, that had been discharged for rogueries committed in the exchequer, and in other offices; these met every night at an ale-house near Whitehall: I gave them now and then 5 pound, and they discovered to me, as they called it, where the King had manors, demesnes, or fee-farm rents, and where there were old debts due to the crown; these I handed to favourites, Lords, and great men: they found means to get grants of them, and I had my snack. By these and other tricks, in about 12 months time, I had picked up 5000 pound.

Whiglove. How did your clients fare in the mean while, whose money you had taken?

Double. That never troubled my thoughts, some of them are starving at this instant; several of them did get places, and those I made believe it was by my procurement, though in truth most of them had no other recommendation but their notorious roguery. Well, when I had got such a sum in my pocket, I took a house, and set up my coach: and when the convention was dissolved, it came into my head, that the best way to raise my fortune, was to get myself chosen parliament-man; for I was discerning enough to see what card would turn up trump. Down therefore I went into Cornwall in a good equipage, and with store of guineas in my purse.

Whiglove. But you did not succeed in that undertaking?

Double. No, I was disappointed by an unlucky chance. I had secured the election, and bribed the majority of the corporation, and was huzzaed into the

the burrough: but, as the devil would have it, one who had been my fellow-apprentice knew me; and as soon as he saw my calash stop, he came bawling up, took me by the hand, and cried, Honest Tom Double, thou art welcome, who thought to see thee in Cornwall? My electors stared to see him so familiar with their member, and began to shove him away; but he would not take it so, and growing angry, bellowed out, What a plague do you think I do not know Tom Double? Why he and I were fellow-apprentices with Jack Last the shoemaker in Fleet-street. I took upon myself to be mightily affronted, and fain would have out-faced the man. He persisted in his story, I to deny it; but truth has something in it irresistible, he was believed, and I was thought an impostor, and the rabble began to hoot me.

Whiglove. What did you do then?

Double. I bore up as well as I could, and went to my inn. But at night the mayor came and told me there was an uproar in the town, and a plot to toss me in a blanket next day, if I did not get away as fast as I could. I gave credit to his intelligence, and stole out of the burrough next morning by 3 a clock.

Whiglove. To what did you betake yourself when you came to town?

Double. I had thrust myself into a general acquaintance, and for some time I drove a trade of getting people to lend money to the government; *per manus Double* was very well known in the treasury; the premios I shared with the lender, many more did the same, and by this we fleeced the publick bravely.

Whiglove. Those were gallant times for such as had industry.

Double. When Ireland was reduced, I sent for three proling fellows from Dublin, with directions they

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they should bring over with them an account of all the best Irish forfeitures; which when I had, I applied myself to such at court as had power and interest enough to obtain grants of the like nature. The courtiers had agreed to divide this spoil among them, but I took care to come in for my snack of the booty: and indeed I deserved a good reward, for I helped them to model and dress up all the particulars, in which we imposed upon the government abominably: we represented estates of 3 or 4000 pound a year to be but little peddling farms, which would hardly afford potatoes for an Irish bogtrotter. But I must own I never undertook any thing in which I got so much, with so little pains; for they who were then at the helm had most of them some work of their own to do, they had something to beg for themselves, and therefore they were afraid to look too strictly into the pretensions of other men: they never examined into the merits of the pretender, nor the value of the gift; all we said was taken for granted, we did what we pleased, and had what we asked for, and I can assure you these Irish grants did yield me and some others an excellent crop.

Whiglove. I see you have been in at all.

Double. So they must do that would thrive. All these transactions had made me well known to the treasury, and every morning by 3 I was whispering projects in some of their ears, which they by one a clock the same day opened to the house of commons, as schemes forsooth of their own forming: but I did not take this ill, I found my account in it. Other services I did; it was I put Tom Neal upon the million lottery. F——t O——w had never thought of his leather-tax but for me. The malt-duty, the window-tax, and the tax upon births, burials, and marriages, were the off-springs of my

brain. You had never had the bank of England if I had not introduced Michael Godfrey to the acquaintance of Charles M——e. Without me S——d had never got his new East-India company. Over a bottle of wine one night I opened to Sir John Foch the capitation whimsy, and he got it next day handed into parliament. And though a great man pretends now to have devised the exchequer bills, they had never been dreamed on, if it had not been for me and poor Mordecai Abbot.

Whiglove. I always understood we whigs had been the devisers of the new taxes and remote funds, but did not know till now the share you have had in it.

Double. I have done my part, and think I have reason to pretend to a great deal of merit. For what had become of our party, if it had not been for these projects? It is true, we have run the nation over head and ears in debt by our funds, and new devices, but mark what a dependance upon our noble friends, this way of raising money has occasioned. Who is it sticks to them but those who are concerned in tallies and the new stocks? The plain country gentleman, who has nothing to trust to but his estate, is for having them called to an account for robbing the nation; but we, who through their means, have so many years got 15 and 20 per cent. for our money, and who by their help have had so many other ways of raising ourselves, cry up their innocence, and long to see them again at the helm, that under their countenance and protection we may once more fleece the kingdom. Take this for a rule, if you see any man very hot for them in the country, he or his relations are engaged in the annuities; and they whom you hear roaring so for them in the city, are such as have stock-jobbed tallies at 30 or 40 per cent. profit. For we have

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taken care to insinuate to all those who have dealt with the exchequer, that the 18 millions England now owes will never be paid unless they are restored to the ministry, and you must be sure to spread this about in the country as you travel.

Whiglove. But I doubt it will pass upon very few; for many are apt to say, if they had continued in their posts a few years longer, instead of paying former debts, they had run us in debt 18 millions more.

Double. I am of that opinion; but that is not your business; you are to lye roundly and impudently for your friends, and as for believers you must leave that to chance.

Whiglove. Well, I will push this as far as it can go. But pray finish your narrative.

Double. The master-piece of my dexterity remains behind. You know I was a receiver of the taxes towards the latter end of the year 1692.

Whiglove. I remember it very well, and we all wondered that a man of your interest should accept of such a mean employment.

Double. It did not prove so to me. As I ordered it, I made my receiver's place better than that of a Lord treasurer of England.

Whiglove. This passes my understanding.

Double. It will be plain to you by and by. But the design we had formed was laid very deep, and there were better heads concerned in it than my own. There was a club of us that used to meet thrice a week on purpose to invent lies that were to support our friends and blacken our enemies; but we never parted without contriving something or other that might tend to our own private advantage.

Whiglove. There are 40 of the like clubs now; I am of one of them, but at present we meet every night, because we have more business upon our hands than ever.

Double. I know it. In this company we fell to discourse about the coin, which was then very much defaced by the clippers. One Mr. Trickster, a Solicitor at the treasury, blurted it out, that if the clipping-trade went on, a receiver of the taxes would be a brave employment. The notion struck me immediately, but I turned the discourse, and we fell to talk of other matters. But I hammered this business in my head 2 or 3 days, and saw a great prospect of gain. Upon which I got together 5 of the cunningest fellows in town, and we sat in consultation many hours. At last we agreed to make what interest we could, either by friends or money, to be receivers.

Whiglove. I smell your design now.

Double. We laid this scheme. First to exclaim every where against those who then had the receipts of the King's revenue, and to roar out that they were tories and Jacobites who kept the King's money in their hands on purpose to distress the government; that honest and hearty whigs would make the land-tax yield more by a third part: by these sayings and aspersions, we hoped to turn out several upright and conscientious persons, who we knew would not concur with us in our designs.

Whiglove. The mine wrought as you could wish, for I remember you got them out and yourselves in.

Double. Afterwards we settled our agents in town, who were to allow us so much per cent. according to the weight of the bags we sent up, 20, 30, and 40 per cent. My wife, besides being an admirable accomptant, was as dexterous a clipper as any in London, and could earn her 5 pound a day with her own fingers, besides making and receiving all her visits. It would be endless to reckon up all the advantages we made. When the money was re-coining, I myself paid into the exchequer several thousand

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thousand pounds, of which the 100*l.* bags, one with another, weighed not above 9 pound, which ought to have weighed 33, by which you may guess how much stuck in our paws. What we five began was followed all round the kingdom, and there were very few offices which had not one or two such rogues as we in it. And though we had blamed others for the same thing, and wrongfully, yet there was hardly one of us that did not keep always in his hands at least 20,000 pound of the King's money, with which we bought up tallies and debentures, sometimes at 30 and 40 per cent. discount: all this while the soldiers and poor seamen were starving, but that we did not value a pin. Now and then some of the treasury would be resty, and complain of us; but it was answered, they are of our party, very honest fellows, and zealous whigs, who do the government a great deal of service. And truly this character we had assumed was a cloak to all our knavery.

Whiglove. How long did this game last?

Double. Long enough for me to get 50,000 pound.

Whiglove. But did you go clear off with this sum?

Double. No, pox take it, our villainies grew so very rank, that at last the parliament began to smoke us, and there several of us were had before the committee, where if matters had been pushed home, to Tyburn we must have gone, or at least to the pillory.

Whiglove. How did you ward the blow?

Double. By acting a part quite new to me, which was being very sincere. I went to some persons, who I knew had great power and interest, and plainly told them what I had got, and offered if they would bring me off, that they should share gains with me.

Whiglove. Did this work well?

L 3

Double.

Double. To admiration. Some of these had been the very men who found most fault with me and others, but they presently changed their note and became our best solicitors; they ran about every where crying up our innocence, and throwing dirt upon our accusers. The arguments that prevailed most with our party, which then you know was uppermost, were these; they said, What a devil have we to do with this inquisition? does not one inquiry beget another? are we not all equally guilty? what office almost is clear? have not all of us robbed the King and kingdom as much as lay in our power? may not the detecting some criminals prove a means of laying open all the rest? Why should we not live and let live? if all that have wronged the public must be called to account, what will become of the best of us? These reasons, urged in proper time and to proper persons, had such an effect, that our danger vanished by degrees, the matter was let drop, and we heard no more of our prosecution.

Whiglove. But I doubt this cost you sauce.

Double. Yes in truth I did not scape for less than twenty thousand pound, for every one who could either do me good or hurt had a pull at me.

Whiglove. However you got off with 30,000 pound clear.

Double. That I did.

Whiglove. But after this, I suppose, you did not think fit to pretend to any employment.

Double. This, nor ten times more roguery, would not have barred me in those days from getting a place, but nothing fell worth my accepting; besides, while the late ministers were in power, I did my business well enough, by doing now and then a private job through their favour and assistance. And now I am at my ease, I have my country-house, where I keep my whore as fine as an empress:

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you know how I am lodged in town, where I am served all in plate; I have my French cook, and wax-candles; no butchers meat comes upon my table; I drink nothing but Hermitage, Champagne, and Burgundy; Cahors wine has hardly admittance to my side-board; my very footmen scorn French claret: I keep my coach and six, and out of my fine chariot I loll and laugh to see gallant fellows, Colonels and Admirals, trudging a-foot in the dirt. Poor silly rogues! their honour forsooth led them to fight for England abroad, but I play'd a much wiser game, by joining with those who in the mean while were plundering their country at home.

Whiglove. You have given me a very succinct account of yourself, from the time you crept out of your garret, to the prosperity in which you flourish at present.

Double. You have the history of my life, but it may serve as a looking-glass in which most of the Modern Whigs may see their own faces. In describing my self, I have drawn most of their pictures, and there are few of them that do not resemble me in some of my features. Look generally into their originals, and you will find them full as mean as mine. Who was such a great man's father? a scandalous barrater. What was such a Lord not long before the revolution? a little jackanapes that people shunned because he could not pay his club. Did they rise by virtue or merit? No more than myself. How did they behave themselves in their offices? Just as I did; they got what they could, no matter how. Did I cheat the King and his people? So did they; with this difference only, I was a small retailer, they dealt by wholesale. It is true some of them got the start of me, and have been in high posts of honour and trust; but if I had not been baulked in Cornwall, if I could but have got

into the house, with my impudence and fluent way of speaking, with my abandoned principles, with my cringing and my flattery, no body knows how far in those days I might have advanced myself.

Whiglove. Indeed you were qualified to have been very considerable among us Old Whigs.

Double. Prithee, friend *Whiglove*, leave off calling thyself an Old Whig, it will do thee hurt with the party. We reckon those men our worst of enemies.

Whiglove. Why I thought, except yourself, and some others who came over to us betimes, that we were all Old Whigs.

Double. You may as well call us Drommadies. As for the Old Whigs in King Charles's time many of them are dead, some of them are retired, being ashamed to see their party play the knave as soon as ever they got into power. Many of those that remain still upon the stage, think us the very rogues we know ourselves to be, they have quitted our side, and vote every day with Seymour, Musgrave and Jack How. What have we in us that resembles the Old Whigs? They hated arbitrary government, we have been all along for a standing army: they desired triennial parliaments, and that trials for treason might be better regulated; and it is notorious that we opposed both those bills. They were for calling corrupt ministers to an account; we have ever countenanced and protected corruption to the utmost of our power. They were frugal for the nation, and careful how they loaded the people with taxes; we have squandered away their money as if there could be no end of England's treasure. The Old Whigs would have prevented the immoderate growth of the French empire, we Modern Whigs have made a partition-treaty, which unless Providence save us, may end in making the King of France universal monarch.

Whiglove.

Whiglove. I must confess we are very much departed from the principles we professed twenty years ago. But pray tell me of what sort of persons does our party consist at present, for we still call ourselves Whigs.

Double. It is not so easy as you imagine to describe the strange medley of which we are now composed, but I shall do my best to let you into the secret. First, you must know there are some men of true worth and honour that still continue among us; why I cannot guess, but those I fear we shall lose when they come plainly to discover our bad designs, and how furiously we drive to bring the kingdom into a civil war. Nor have we lost all the Old Whigs; there are still listed with us, Whig-Pickpockets, Whig-Gamesters, Whig-Murderers, Whig-Outlaws, Whig-Libertines, Whig-Atheists, such as in former reigns have had some note of infamy publick or private fixed upon them; all these stick close to our side, nor do we apprehend that any one of them will forsake us, because they know crimes of no nature whatsoever are ill looked upon among us, and that even hereafter they may commit more, if they please, under the shelter of our wings.

Whiglove. But have we no more than what you have here reckoned?

Double. O yes, or we should be but weak. The bulk of our party consists of those who are of any side where they can best make their markets; such sort of men naturally like the Whigs most, because ours was a negligent weak administration. Every body did what seemed good in his own eyes, we troubled no man with calling him to an account. The accounts of the army, navy, customs, and excise, are not yet made up. There are upwards of 24 millions of the peoples money unaccounted for to this day. Under our ministry all the officers
that

that handled the King's business or revenue lived in clover. Every little scoundrel got an estate. We suffered them to drink up the people's blood till they were out of breath, and till their eyes grew red. In short, all men cheated to what degree they pleased, which was winked at in hopes to make and to secure a party. Therefore all the busy proling fellows both in town and country, who hope to advance themselves, wish to see our noble friends restored to their former power. And all these sort of men, while they have any hopes that way, will join with us to buoy them up, and to exclaim against the new ministers. But if they find the game lost, if they see the King resolved to correct abuses, and to call them to a reckoning who have so much wronged him and the nation, and if they find the parliament stick to their point; if they see the country-gentlemen resolute to be no longer imposed upon by up-starts and hair-brained rulers of a state, like rats they will all run from a falling house, they will disown the name of Whigs, and send us and our party to the devil.

Whiglove. But if they start from us, shall we not be very weak?

Double. Weak do you call it, we shall be utterly undone, we shall be no longer able to hold up our heads, and we must give up the cudgels. These pretended neuters, this flying squadron are now our best foundation. What I and several old knaves say, that have been all along in the intrigue, passes for nothing. We are thought to speak in our own cause, but these forsooth have never been in business; they are called disinterested persons, honest Whigs that love *England*, and though we know them to be as errant rogues as ourselves, and that they long to be playing the same game we played, yet we extol them for the only good patriots: they

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are the tools and engines with which we work; they are the full-mouthed hounds that help to make up the cry; they are our organs, our stentrophonical tubes, our speaking trumpets. It is they who rail at the present ministers; it is they who exclaim against the proceedings of the house of commons; and it is they who have endeavoured to get hands to petitions for a dissolution of the parliament.

Whiglove. This flying squadron, as you call it, is of great importance to our designs; what care is there taken to secure them to our party?

Double. The methods made use of by the heads of us are these: we insinuate to them both in town and country, That new ministers if they think to establish themselves in these inquisitive times, must resolve to come in upon the foot of honesty, virtue and frugality for England. And who can hope to make any considerable fortune, under such a set of men? Will the Earl of R. and my Lord G. when they have power enough to mend things, suffer all the present abuses in the revenue? Will they sit still and see the nation robbed and plundered, when they have interest enough to prevent it? They will recommend none to the King's service but men of parts and abilities. Which of you are so qualified? what skill have any of you but how to buy and sell tallies and debentures, whereby you squeeze the soldiers, poor seamen, and those who have dealings with the government? If any of you chance to get into place, will not they watch your goings? will not they compel you to make up your accounts? They did all these things heretofore, when they had power, and no doubt will tread in the same steps. They were no squanderers, they kept the crown out of debt, and were careful of the public revenues. Take it upon our words they are not men for your purpose, they are not ministers for your turn. It is therefore

therefore your interest, and ought to be your business, to rail at them, to bely them, and to do your utmost to blast their reputation.

Whiglove. I see now the true reason why our party has of late so pelted those two Lords with libels.

Double. They have been damned rubs in our way all along, and I doubt we shall never succeed in our designs of building up our fortunes upon the ruin of the nation, till we get them removed.

Whiglove. But suppose that could be done, or that they of themselves should retire out of despair of being able to help their country, would our work be then complete? Will not the parliament be still a hindrance to us: will not they rescue the kingdom out of your hands when you purpose to invade it? and will not the people rather incline to believe their representatives, than your stories and false suggestions? Pray what do you insinuate to the flying squadron in relation to the house of commons?

Double. First as I told you before, we bid them call in general for a dissolution. For if we could obtain it, what by bribery, what by clamours, and what by the lies we have dispersed about England, and which we shall take care to renew, as we see occasion, we have some hopes to alter the elections, and to get a majority once more of our side.

Whiglove. I doubt we shall hardly be able to bully the court into a dissolution.

Double. Who knows if we make a great deal of noise but that we may fright them to it. You can hardly imagine what an ill opinion we have brought some people to have of parliaments in general; to those whom we see gaping after preferments (of which sort of men the chief strength of our party consists at present, and they are the most busy and active among us) we say it was better with England when parliaments were called but once in an age, no
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body can be at rest for them : now a man can not get 2 or 300,000 pounds in an office, but he must be questioned by a house of commons. It is incredible how well this works with the flying squadron, who would fain come into business, and be suffered to play the knave in quiet. To others we say, What the devil have the commons to do to accuse the ministers ? it is assaulting the throne. What made them inquire into the exorbitant grants, may not the Prince dispose of his own ? This doctrine has its weight and effect with some old Tories of the last courts, who upon valuable considerations condescend now to herd with us. To others we preach that the commons have exceeded their bounds by imprisoning those who were not their own members ; and though we Whigs did ten times more of this in 1678, and 1679, and though it has been the known practice of our ancestors, yet we have the impudence in printed pamphlets to assert, that the commons do thereby assume to themselves illegal and arbitrary power. In short, we do all that we can to make parliaments either contemptible and odious, or dreadful, especially to those who would meddle in business, and think to raise their fortunes. But our malice is chiefly levelled against this and the last house of commons. And be you sure, Mr. Whiglove, to take the cue, and bid all your friends do the like as you go through the several countries. Curse them, rail at them, villify them (you may extol the lords to the skies for their late proceedings, that will do well enough) but as for the commons, such of them I mean as for these last 3 years have opposed our measures (of which you have a list) call them Jacobites, French Pensioners and Traytors, as often as you hear them named.

Whiglove. But with what face can I talk at this rate of persons whom I know in my own conscience

to

to have done so many good things for England? They disbanded a numerous standing army which (except a few prostitutes of our own side) the whole nation thought dangerous to our liberties. They liberally supplied the King from time to time, and paid off a great many old debts, and yet they have eased the people of the malt, and leather taxes, which were a grievous burthen upon them. They have shown their self-denial in excluding their own members from being either in the customs, or excise, profitable places. They have done what in them lay to inquire into and correct abuses. That the law might have the freer course, they have divested themselves of their own privileges, which were a grievance complained of for above a hundred years, but could never be redressed till now. In all the course of their proceedings they have given evident marks of profound duty and respect to the King's sacred person; and this very last session they have settled the succession to the crown in a protestant line. By their votes, and by the engagements they have entered into to assist his majesty, they have enabled him to be the sole arbiter of war and peace in Europe. Now after all this, it goes somewhat against my heart to call these men Jacobites and pensioners of France.

Double. Friend, if you are troubled with these qualms, and fits of remorse, you will never do yourself any good. I know as well as you, that never two parliaments did better for the kingdom, but we must take care not to own it: and if you desire to be recommended to us by your services, you must learn to give every thing a false turn. Though such a numerous standing army threatned our liberties, and though the nation could not possibly bear its expence, you must say the disbanding exposed us to an invasion. If they talk of what supplies

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have been granted, what debts have been paid, and how hardly taxes come; tell them, England is inexhaustible, and that a general excise would pay off all the deficiencies, and make us flow in money. As to their self-denial: Though it be a fallacious quibble, tell them of the dog in the manger. As to the giving up their privileges, I have not an answer ready for it, and I must pump hard to be able to detract from that generosity. If you hear them talk of the abuses they would have corrected, justify every thing, even Kidd's piracy, and Whitacre's bill of 25,000 pound for law-charges. As to their duty to the King, though the thing proves itself from their addresses, and from the supplies they have granted, however do you deny it flatly, be sure to lie audaciously upon that subject, and say the country-party are the most saucy fellows in nature; give out that they talk of their Prince as irreverently in the house, as we Whigs have done in taverns ever since my Lord S——rs lost the seals. As to the bill for settling the succession, you must say it signifies nothing, unless it had been accompanied with a good round oath of abjuration, which might have created some fresh divisions in the kingdom; besides, object in particular to all the limitations. As to their last address (though the King himself, who is the best judge, was highly satisfied with it) do you say it came too late. And though nine months ago we had neither alliances formed, nor fleet ready, do you affirm it superciliously and confidently, that war ought then to have been proclaimed.

Whiglove. I shall follow your dictates religiously, and say what you will have me; but I would gladly know the true reason why you, Mr. Scrape, Mr. Getall, Mr. Rant, and Mr. Highflown, and indeed almost all our party, are so exceeding angry with the two last parliaments.

Double.

Double. They attacked us; they struck at our Diana, our gain, which made us all run into a tumult. They stopt us in the progress we were making to be the richest set of men that ever meddled with a kingdom's business: and who bid them interrupt us? Does not whigish liberty and property consist in a right to rob the King and government? Have we not in a manner ten years prescription for it? If they would have let us gone off quietly with our great places, with our exorbitant grants, with our extortions, with our illegal privy seals, and with all the other spoils we have made upon the publick, we should have been contented, we would have permitted them to have saved England, if it was possible, after the wounds we had given her in her entrails. However we would have given them no opposition, we should have been satisfied to have lain still a while, expecting better times, with safety and riches of our side. But now we will find them work, and since they have lain us open, we must study revenge; we must endeavour by popular clamours, private whispers, and open lies, to expose them to the fury, or else they will, by due course of law, bring us to the justice of the nation.

Whiglove. But suppose by our noise and stories we cannot procure a dissolution.

Double. Our game then must be to use our best endeavours to make the people out of love with the very constitution of parliaments. We have already laid the ground-works of it in the pamphlet called, *Jura Populi Anglicani*, where our dear friend says, [Pref. p. 5.] "That the commons are not the whole people of England's representatives." It is true, that notion is not his own, for he stole it from Roger l'Estrange; you may find it in his *Observators*, and in twenty other places of his writings; but

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but no matter for that, it makes for us now, and is well urged. Sheridan and all his papists, in the bitterness of their gaul, when they had been questioned for the popish plot, did not express half so much venom to parliaments as this author has done. It is a gallant fellow, God bless him, whoever he be, he deserves that our party should set up his statue in gold; for my part, I should be glad to contribute towards it. He has raked up whatever was said or written by the tories and papists in the latter end of King Charles's reign, when Sir William Williams was so severely prosecuted by the court for doing his duty. He has represented the house of commons to be as arbitrary as a Turkish divan. He has insulted their authority in general, and has affronted in particular all the most considerable members: in short, he has laid the axe to the very root of the English constitution.

Whiglove. What is designed by all this?

Double. By this, and other pamphlets of the like nature, which we shall take care to publish every week, we hope to work the people of England to the same frantick temper that possessed the Danes in the year 1660, at which time they came and desired an utter dissolution of their government, that the use of parliaments might be quite laid aside, and that their King would govern by his own will, and with a standing army.

Whiglove. But could this be compassed, would it make for us?

Double. Believe me, Mr. Whiglove, the heads and leaders of our party can never be safe till parliaments are utterly abolished. Nothing but force and a total subversion of the laws can protect their crimes. Their insolence to the last house of commons was so notorious, that it will be dangerous for them to look any other in the face. We can never be able to pack a parliament, or to find five hundred

gentlemen in the whole kingdom that will sit still and see the authority of a house of commons trampled upon by a few upstarts, and a mock made of impeachments, their most sacred and ancient right. Besides, let us do what we can, a day of reckoning will come, and one time or other we shall be made to disgorge some of the many millions of which we have robbed the nation. Therefore upon the whole matter, it is the interest of our party to lay aside parliaments, and to govern by a standing army, as they do in Denmark.

Whiglove. I doubt you will hardly be able to make the people of England out of love with parliaments. Besides, you know the King in the whole course of his reign has shown himself a most religious observer of the laws, and an enemy to all unjust or desperate councils.

Double. If we cannot hector the court into a dissolution, if we cannot render parliaments odious, nor get an army, we must betake us to our last refuge, which is to throw ourselves into the arms of France. For come France, come Pope, come Devil, we are resolved not to quit our hold, nor to abandon the sweet hopes we had once entertained. The power we aim at shall not be wrested from us. Dominion is our idol, and have it we will, by hook or by crook. We know the way to the Louvre. Our ancestors of Scotland (for we Whigs are derived from thence) when they designed to rebel in 1639, applied for the French King's protection. Cromwel, our patron-saint, became an absolute pensioner to France in the year 1655. Nor is it probable our noble friends were such fools as to have let the French King get so good a bargain as he had by the partition-treaty, without coming down a good sum of money: If the truth were known, their bags weighed full as heavy as Portacarrero's. Indeed they deserved more, they laid the first stone of this dangerous building,

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and they did his Most Christian Majesty better service than the Spanish cardinal. Rather than not lord it as we have hitherto done, and rather than not go away with the estates and wealth we have gotten, we are ready to do any thing, and to submit to any terms. Nor are we Whigs such irreconcilable enemies to the late King as some imagine. Do you think we care who rules, so we can have the places? Do you believe we cannot take French gold? Why do you think we have made such a noise about French money being distributed among the members? We know it is all an invention of our own, and a lye from top to bottom, but we have two ends in it. First, we asperse known good patriots. Then we give the French ministers to understand by this talk, that money would not be thrown away in England. And is it not more likely they will come to us who have been all along such open prostitutes? When the lady in the play talked to the gentleman of his whoring and beastliness, was it not to put him in mind of lying with her?

Whiglove. I am of your opinion, that if it should be thought necessary, it would not be very difficult for our party to make up with the French, and at St. Germain's; for I remember in these two last parliaments, all the papists of the kingdom were for us Whigs, and helped our friends every where in their elections, particularly last year they bestirred themselves notably to oppose Jack How in Gloucestershire.

Double. They did so, and it was by direction from above.

Whiglove. I have received great satisfaction from your discourse, and you have enlightened my understanding in very many things, of which I was ignorant before, for which I thank you.

Double. I have but done my duty. My business ever since the parliament was up has been to instruct

such as the heads of our party have sent all over England to scatter libels, to disperse news, to utter their stories, and to villify the house of commons. We have emissaries likewise in Holland, who are doing the same thing in Amsterdam, Rotterdam and the Hague; and to tell you the truth, we have a knot of brave impudent fellows posted there, who, as my letters tell me, have made some of the poor Dutch believe, that this parliament will sell England to France by inch of candle. Nor are we out of hopes of getting from the seven provinces such addresses as came lately out of Hampshire, Buckinghamshire, and Yorkshire.

Whiglove. What, the Dutch to address about our parliament! That would be strange indeed.

Double. Look you, I am afraid the States are more prudent than to interpose in affairs of that nature. Besides, they have all the reason in the world to applaud the proceedings of the last sessions; but it may not be amiss to insinuate that some such thing is upon the anvil, it keeps up the hearts of our party.

Whiglove. You were mentioning Whitaker just now, he that was solicitor to the admiralty; I protest I know not what to say when I come into the country about that, and some other matters. There was one Robin Sayer, an honest gentleman of my acquaintance, that used to be at Garraway's and Tom's coffee-house, who had a knack of finding out some excuse or other for every thing that was done amiss: We called him Excuse-Master General to the party. I wish he were alive now to find out some excuse for this bill of Whitaker's, I believe it would puzzle him. I have the copy of his account, as it was delivered to the committee by Sir Richard Haddock, the 27th of May last, examined by H. Johnson.

Double. Read it.

Whiglove.

Whiglove. An abstract of Mr. Edward Whitaker's disbursements for law-charges, from 22d of Feb. 1691-2, to the 31st of December 1699.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
F EES to counsellors and doc- tors of the civil law }	4876	—	4
Charges at law offices	3745	5	10
Expences in summoning and enter- taining witnesses, serving them with subpœna's, and finding of- fenders }	2995	14	11
Rewards to counsellors, clerks, doorkeepers, &c. }	102	9	1
Other expences, the particulars whereof are not named }	1513	14	2
His own fees for attendance, &c.	1989	2	11
Drawing and copying indictments, articles, instructions, deposi- tions, informations, breviates, cases, &c. }	3740	7	3
Horse-hire, coach-hire, and other expences on travelling }	566	3	9
Reward for { his own at 20s. per travelling { diem { his man's at 10s. per { diem }	528	8	6
Marshal and prison charges	1611	7	2
Discompt of exchequer bills and tallies }	455	13	6
Ditto bank 400 <i>l.</i> at 17½ per cent.	30	—	—
Charges of the admiralty sessions, &c.	42	2	—
Paid to John King for his share of the money recovered from Lovelace }	49	15	—
Carry over,	22246	4	5

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Brought over, —	22246	4	5
Reward paid one Jenkins an evidence, said to be by order from the admiralty }	34	9	6
Paid for interest of 220 <i>l.</i> borrowed to carry on the service }	18	5	—
Ditto 1800 <i>l.</i> respited to be paid in course from 5th Nov. 96, to 5th Aug. 97, at 6 per cent. }	81	—	—
Paid for loss by 129 malt tickets received by him on payment of arrears for 1829 <i>l.</i> 14 <i>s.</i> — <i>d.</i> }	576	—	—
Paid to Capt. Tho. Urry by order for his charges, being wounded and prosecuted for pressing men }	91	6	—
For passing the admiralties commission and privy seal for admitting Colonel Wharton }	89	17	10
Paid to the treasurer of the navy by order for redemption of the King's Fisher ketch }	50	—	—
For judges and juries dinners at the admiralty sessions, &c. }	90	3	4
To money recovered of Gowen and other (admiralty officers) as costs and damages in a suit brought by Harvey and others in Suffolk }	68	—	—
	23345	6	1
Besides from an abstract delivered to the committee, but not yet passed the navy office, it appears that the said Mr. Whitaker charges the King with a further sum of about }	2199	3	7
Total	25544	9	8

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Double. This is a swingeing accompt.

Whiglove. It is so, especially when you hear all, for I am credibly informed that the late attorney-general, and present solicitor-general, and all the eminent council, protest they never received fees from him any thing near the sum he mentions: they say the same at Doctors Commons. During his whole time there were never three convictions of any consequence: he could give no instance before the committee of any one service he had performed for the expence of so much money. On the contrary he let Bolton escape, who could have made important discoveries about Kidd's matter. It was likewise proved, that Mr. Wilshaw, one of the commissioners of his majesty's navy, had discovered a gang of thieves in the King's yard at Portsmouth, who upon examination confessed the fact. These informations were sent to the navy-board, who appointed W——r to prosecute the criminals. But instead of prosecuting the real offenders, several of them were made witnesses, and all the rest escaped without being brought to trial; and the prosecution was turned upon the said Mr. Wilshaw and several of the officers of the yard (by whose care these thefts were discovered) who were tried at the King's Bench bar, after about 2 years dependance, and by a special jury of Hampshire gentlemen acquitted. And the court blaming very much the prosecution, ordered a *nol. prof.* to stop further proceedings, &c. It was further proved, that W——r did this of his own head, without any order from the admiralty; and that this prosecution of innocent persons, and his own officers, stood the King in 1001 *l.* 11 *s.* 5 *d.* Besides, every article of his bill is liable to objection. The item for summoning and entertaining witnesses 2995 *l.* is scandalous. That of 3745 *l.* charges at law-offices is ridiculously extravagant. His item of

3740*l.* for drawing and copying indictments, &c. is such a one as the like was never heard of. What does he mean by 1989*l.* for his own fees for attendance, when he had a salary? And how could he have the impudence besides all this, to put in his account 1094*l.* for his own and man's horse-hire, coach-hire, and travelling-charges?

Double. Well, what do people say of all this?

Whiglove. They say, some principal officer must have gone snacks with him; they say, he deserves the pillory for such a notorious imposition and cheat upon the government; they report he was bred an upholsterer, that for some private merit he had, which lies still in the dark, this employment was purposely coined for him; they say, if such an infamous varlet was suffered to rob the publick at this rate, what have the great ones done? And that such exorbitant allowances could never have been made him, but in order to countenance thefts of a higher nature.

Double. I must confess he is an egregious knave, but we must not let him sink; if he should be run down, who knows how far it may be carried? There are other accounts relating to the admiralty ten times more unjustifiable than that of W——r's. As to your behaviour in that matter, your best course will be downright to deny the fact; for though all this appears upon the Journals, Paul Joddrel will not be in the country to disprove you. And when you hear this poor man, or any of our friends, censured for accounts or actions of the like kind, excuse them as well as you can; and when you cannot answer what is objected, as indeed it is impossible, do you say, May be they have cheated the King, what then? they are honest to the cause, zealous hearty whigs, and bitter enemies to France.

Whiglove. I shall be plaguily put to it to give any tolerable reason why such pains was taken to make
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the bill of accounts miscarry. Under the rose, you know our party did it, and it gives a good handle to our enemies to say we durst not stand the test of such a bill. They say, Why not a bill to examine and state the accounts when there are 24 millions unaccounted for, and when such a variety of instances are given of male-administration in almost every part of the publick revenue? They cry, Are your accounts such you are afraid to have them looked into? Besides, the poor soldiers and seamen (who are starving for their arrears, and whose wants compel them to sell their debentures for 45 *l. per cent.*) clamour and say, that we are the cause they are put back a whole year from being satisfied out of the Irish forfeitures. And you can hardly imagine what a reflection this brings upon the whigs.

Double.—If you knew the whole secret you would not so much wonder why we got that bill thrown out. As for the soldiers and seamen, we whigs care not a pin if they starved and rotted. They are brave fellows and love their country, and will never concur in any of our designs, therefore we are for laying all the hardships we can upon them. You may hear them every night at Locketts and the Thatched House, applauding the House of Commons, crying up Mulgrave, and saying, Jack How is one of their best friends. They are for the church, the King and the laws, and say our party cares for neither, and that we were a band of thieves got together, who mind nothing but getting booty for ourselves. We were for a bill of accounts if we could have got a set of commissioners whom we could have bribed or awed, or over whom we might have had any sort of influence. But the Commons chose fellows that would not have spared their own fathers if they had found them criminal. And though we have endeavoured to ridicule their offering

ing to serve without fallaries, yet at bottom I must own, it was a virtuous offer. For why might not gentlemen, most of which had served their country so many years at their own expence, continue their labours one year longer without reward? And however we may think to blast it, it will in all times be thought an honourable and praise-worthy tender of their service, and would have given greater weight and authority to their whole proceedings.

Whiglove. But what excuse shall I make in the country for throwing out the bill?

Double. When you are among friends, and those whom you dare trust, you may own the down-right truth, which is, that if the bill had passed, most of the principal whigs had been utterly ruined; that such gross cheats, extortions, frauds, bribery, and corruption, would have been discovered and laid open, as must have exposed our party to the universal contempt and hatred of the nation; that such a storm would have fallen upon some of our chief leaders and patrons as would have torn them to pieces, some of which must have refunded 200,000 pound, some 100,000 pound, others 60, 40, and 20,000 pound a man, of which they have robbed the King and kingdom. In short, you must frankly own it was of the last importance to get the bill thrown out; that our very being depended upon it, that our party can stand and out-face any thing but a just and strict inquiry into their accounts, which is so tender a part that if possible it must not be touched by the gentlest hands even of Or——d's and Ran——gh's own choosing. But this you are to utter only to confiding persons, whom you know to be deeply engaged with us. To vulgar puts you may give any reasons that come into your head, how false, it matters not. Say it was only a plot of the Papists against poor Whitaker. Call it a Spanish inquisition,

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quisition, and cry, What! was that a time to look into accounts, when we should have been drawing our swords against France? If any man answers, Can there be a more seasonable time of saving money, than when we are going to engage in an expensive war? Reply to him, Sir, you are doing the King of France's business; it is his interest you should have every shilling, that he may find it in your pockets when he comes over to conquer the nation.

Whiglove. I am told Mr. Sleasy went upon this very topick in Northamptonshire, when he was talking upon the same subject. Pray when did you hear from him?

Double. Last post.

Whiglove. How does he say things go in that country?

Double. As well as we could wish; he writes me word Mr. P———'s having raised an estate of 3000*l.* a year out of 600*l.* a year, and all in less than 9 years, and out of the publick, has made them run stark mad; that there is not a freeholder there who does not imagine he should have the fingering of the money which is to arise from the sale of 800 prize-ships; they all hope to be commissioners of the prize-office; and they cry, Hang it, the worst come to the worst, it is but lying a few months in the Tower, and we may go away with 40 or 50,000 pound in our pocket. He writes, that it is incredible how this works in their addle heads; that this gentleman's having eluded the justice of the nation as he did the last sessions, has mightily increased our party in Northamptonshire, where they rail at the house of commons ding dong, and are agog to have the late ministry restored, under which such fortunes could be made out of the publick, and with impunity.

Whiglove. I remember Mr. Cockbrain and Mr. Slander were sent into Gloucestershire two months ago;

ago; you correspond with them. Have they been able to prevail any thing against Mr. How?

Double. Not an inch, they might as well have staid at home, and so I told our noble friends. That gentleman's disinterested way of acting in parliament for so many years, his firm zeal to his country, for whose sake he has resisted such temptations, the good nature he expresses to his friends, the spirit with which he bears up to his enemies, his flowing wit, his admirable understanding, adorned with such a scope of eloquence, his humanity, compassion, candor, probity, and all his other virtues and perfections, have created him such an interest, not only there, but in the whole kingdom, that it is quite impossible by all our industry and malice to undermine or blast it.

Whiglove. I hope you have better news out of the West.

Double. No, in troth, all goes bad there too; Mr. Birdhead, Mr. Tool, and Mr. Stalkinghorse, have been round Dorsetshire, Somersetshire, Devonshire, and Cornwall, and have been able to make few or no converts. They write that Sir Edward Seymour is more cried up in those parts than ever; that the country gentlemen say he has even surpassed himself these three last sessions of parliament; they say there never was a house of commons, in which he would not have shined, and of which he would not have been an ornament, with his piercing sense, and superior understanding; they acknowledge all England is indebted to him for his perseverance and courage in detecting the conspiracy that was formed against our liberties; that in those countries, if there should be a dissolution, our party will rather lose, than get ground.

Whiglove. Mr. Selfish and Mr. Project, write me much to the same purpose out of the North. They have

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have been in Westmoreland, endeavouring to calumniate Sir Christopher Musgrave, and they had like to have had the mob upon their backs. Their lies and inventions would not pass upon the rugged freeholders. They think their county fortunate to have produced so great a man, and wish him many years of life and health, that he may long remain one of the pillars of his country. They say, and indeed all good men in England say the same, That the course of all his actions has been uniform; that he is the true image of old English worth and honour; that no ill success could ever make him lose his courage, nor prosperity bring him to quit his moderation; that in a calm or in a storm, with the wind, or against it, he has always been a safe pilot; and that he has ever steered with solid judgment, gravity, and wisdom.

Double. But have our emissaries been able to raise no dust by whispering about that somebody has touched French money?

Whiglove. No, for Mr. Selfish writes he endeavoured to impose that story upon the northern gentlemen, but that they called him impudent liar, and told him he might with as much likelihood affirm Cato took bribes to betray the Roman commonwealth.

Double. Well, though we have had no better success in some places, yet we have procured three addresses to keep the Kentish gentlemen in countenance, and I hear of one or two more coming up.

Whiglove. Alas! what is that to the whole kingdom? At the rising of the parliament we were made believe every county and burrough in the nation would petition for a dissolution, and to have the late ministry restored, and for God knows what besides, and yet we have been able to do no more than what you see with all our aspersions, with all our hattering

hattering about, and with all our libels. I remember in King Charles's time, petitions came thick and threefold, though the King discountenanced that proceeding to the utmost, and though the ministry opposed it might and main. We are suffered to go on as we please, nobody brow-beats us, the ministers give us no opposition, and yet you see how little progress we have made. I protest this puzzles me so, I know not what to think or say.

Double. I will unravel this mystery to you. Most of the old whigs who were at the head of petitioning in King Charles's reign, were without any blemish upon their reputations; they were not suspected of any by-ends and designs of their own; they were thought to act upon a publick spirit, and for their country's good. This made them have so many followers, and gave them such an interest and credit with the people, that they could lead them which way they pleased. But our case is quite different; our heads, our leaders, our great men, who at present promote these petitions, are full of blots and stains, and every thing they offer at falls under a just suspicion. Would they have a new parliament? The reason is evident, they were questioned by the last house of commons. They desire an immediate war; Yes, because they are not safe from inquiries in a time of peace. They are afraid of the French; How can that be, when they exposed to them the liberties of Europe by their treaty of partition? So that our friends cannot be able to lead a considerable body in any thing they set a-foot; for being guilty of so many crimes, and obnoxious to so much censure of all kinds, they are thought in whatever they do, to fight their own, and not the peoples battles. And what I have here opened to you, is, I doubt, the true reason that we have hitherto procured no more addresses.

Whiglove.

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Whiglove. But if this be the case, if we can raise no ferment, if we can make no disturbance, and if the King shall think fit in matters of war, peace, and in other high points of state, rather to consult his parliament, than be advised by the grand juries of Kent, Buckinghamshire, Hampshire, and Yorkshire, What will become of our party? Shall we not sink? Shall we not be dispirited, and have we not a lost game to play?

Double. Notwithstanding what I have said, our case is far from being desperate. Do you your own work in the country, disperse your lies, scatter your libels, invent and cast fresh aspersions upon all the considerable men of the other side, and leave the rest to Providence: many things may happen to relieve us, some great calamity may befall the nation; you shall see us lift up our heads once more upon any fatal and publick disaster, for mischiefs of any kind make for us, we fish best in troubled waters: national afflictions fright the people, and turn their brains; and at such a time we can best work upon them, and they are then fittest to receive our stories and false impressions. How do you know but that Prince Eugene of Savoy and his Germans may be defeated in Italy?

Whiglove. Would a blow there help us?

Double. Can you be so dull not to see how much it would turn to our advantage? Will it not furnish us with ample matter of railing at the present ministry? For though our party by their theft and rapine have so imbezzelled the King's revenue, though by not protecting trade, and by our wrong management of the last war, we have exhausted the nation of a great part of its coin, though by our negligence and profusion we have plunged the state into an immense debt, and though while we had the administration, we did in general so disorder affairs, that

that in this juncture England could not presently exert itself as it ought to have done, and cannot without infinite new, and almost intolerable taxes, carry on such a war as is requisite to preserve Europe from the French power: and though the house of Austria may justly lay at the doors of our party the danger they are in to lose their rights to the Spanish succession, yet we will throw off all the blame from ourselves, and cast it upon others: and if the emperor should have that ill success which all the cunning whigs wish him, we will cry out, The other side has sold Europe to France: Why was not there a diversion made in Flanders with an army of 80,000 English? Why did we not also land 20,000 men in Portugal? Why was not our fleet in the Mediterranean three months ago? If we had gone and threatened to bombard Lisbon, the Portuguese had never entered into an alliance with France and Spain. Why had we not likewise 40 sail of good ships in America which might have seized the Spanish and French West-Indies? These and twenty things more we shall have ready to say, in case the Germans are soundly pressed in Italy.

Whiglove. Will it not be objected to you, That it was impossible to do all this? And that, keeping a sufficient guard at home, 10 shillings in the pound upon land, the malt-duty, and several other taxes, had not sufficed to fit out such a strength as you talk of.

Double. No matter for that. Let Prince Eugene be but compelled to retire, and you shall see what use we will make of it. When they are struck with any sudden fright, it is not to be conceived what a rumble lies and flames will make in the heads of the vulgar.

Whiglove. But all this will be out of doors, for it is said his Imperial Majesty's arms prosper.

Double.

Double. Yes, pox on it, so they do to our great sorrow. And I saw Dr. D'Avenant and some of that gang, who are still in town, very uppish the other day at Garraway's upon this news.

Whiglove. How does this agree with what we have ordered our hackney-scribblers to publish, and with the story which you and the party have directed me and others to spread about concerning Count Tallard and the Doctor?

Double. Oh you mean the 7000 louis d'ors won at picquette, and the swinging pension he receives from France.

Whiglove. But do not we hurt the cause, by uttering these notorious falsehoods? I was checked very sharply not long ago by one of our own side, a man of known truth and candor, for dispersing such a groundless and malicious slander. The gentleman said, If he be bribed he deserves his bribes but very ill; for in all his writings, in his last especially; "Upon the balance of power," he has declared himself no friend to French councils. The scope of his whole book is for an immediate war, and his private conversation always concludes that way. Another in the same company told me, That to his knowledge the doctor was then retiring to chambers in Grey's-Inn, to engage afresh in the house of Austria's quarrel, with intentions of trying once more to give his country what warning he can by his pen, of their impending dangers from the growth of France.

Double. I wish the beams of the room would fall and beat out his working brains; his indefatigable industry has done us a world of hurt. We must throw what dirt we can upon him. If we can prevail to have him ill thought on, it will make his writings have the less weight. Besides, I hear he declares he will never give us over; he says we are enemies to England, and that he will wage eternal

war with us. He is stout and surly, neither to be frightened nor allured. He bribed! alas we know better, but we are to blast him if we could. He a friend to France! no, no, that is not his crime; it is his book "of Grants and Resumptions," and his having for so many years made it his business to expose our corrupt administration that we stomach so much. But perhaps we had done more prudently not to have raised these foolish lies, for men of his resolution, and so able to take their own revenge, should not be too far provoked.

Whiglove. I had best then say no more of that matter.

Double. No, no, you must now persist in it. It often becomes necessary to support what had been better let alone at first; besides you know the old maxim of our party, "Throw dirt enough, some of it will stick." And whenever you see a man of the side that opposes us, eminent either for his industry, natural or acquired parts, or that you see valued for steady behaviour in parliament, or for his constant integrity to the country; nay, though he be esteemed for his impartiality and moderation, do you be sure to throw all the aspersions you can upon him.

Whiglove. How am I to carry myself in relation to the church?

Double. I do not see why you should not still continue your wonted practice of ridiculing the church and all revealed religion; the heads of our party do it, nor have the great ones as yet given out any orders to the contrary. But we have been lately very much obliged to some of my L——ds the B——ps; here is a list of twelve of them who helped us mightily last sessions, without them we had been thrown upon our backs. You see they joined with us, who always have, and ever shall

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shall hate their hierarchy, against the very persons that so long have fought their battle. Of these truly I think you ought to speak as well as a whig can bring himself to speak of any church-man.

Whiglove. I shall act this part very awkwardly, and shall never be able to mention that order with any decency, which my tongue has been used to explode for so many years.

Double. Revile the order as much as you please, but let me beg you speak well of our friends the reverend P——tes.

Whiglove. Have you any other commands for me?

Double. In general detract from, and asperse all the men of quality of whom there is any appearance that either their high birth, or their great fortunes, or their abilities in matters of government should recommend them to the future administration of affairs. At present particularly spit your venom against the D— of S——t, the D— of O——nd, the M— of N——y, the E— of Marl——ough, the E— of Pet——ough, and the E— of N——m. Read over the pamphlets lately published, which will instruct you what to say.

Whiglove. I have them all by heart, and I take a great parcel of them with me to disperse as I go along.

Double. Be sure to carry store of the Queries: Have we not there mauled the Sp——r bravely? He is paid off too in the *Jura Populi*, and we purpose to pelt him in all the libels that come out.

Whiglove. I doubt you will be able to persuade but few, even of our own party, to think that this gentleman would betray his country. Has he not a large stake in it? And are not his parts so eminent as may lead him to honour and preferment, not the by-road, but in the path of honesty and virtue?

What interest can he have to wrong a people that has given such high proofs of their value for him? Why should he betray a constitution which few in the realm have studied so much, or understand so well? Why should he desperately snatch at wealth and greatness, which would naturally fall upon him without envy, and with no danger?

Double. What you say has a great deal in it. But let us believe ill or well of a man, if he be not of our party, and if his qualifications and abilities are such as make him useful to the kingdom, and dangerous to us, we must never let him alone, but pursue him with our utmost malice.

Whiglove. I was last night with two of our friends, Mr. Kingcheat, and Mr. Robland, gentlemen that are in good posts now, if they can hold them, but it seems they are under some apprehensions at present of being questioned; they carry things a great deal higher than you do, and say, That in the invectives we utter, we ought to spare nobody, no not one that must be nameless, if he continues to take measures that thwart our designs and interest.

Double. They told you right, however do it darkly and ambiguously; and take care not to speak plain English till you see we are quite out of hopes to get the parliament dissolved. But it is late, the Exchange begins to fill, and it is time for us to part.

Whiglove. Sir, I thank you for all your favours; I beg you would have me in your thoughts, and pray be pleased to represent to our noble friends all my faithful endeavours for their service.

Double. I shall not fail to do it, and hope times will so mend, that your expectations may be answered.

T O M D O U B L E
RETURNED OUT OF THE COUNTRY:
OR, THE
TRUE PICTURE
OF
A MODERN WHIG,
SET FORTH IN A
SECOND DIALOGUE
BETWEEN
MR. WHIGLOVE AND MR. DOUBLE,
AT THE RUMMER TAVERN IN QUEEN-STREET.

—And now besides the sweetness of Bribery, and other Gain, with the Love of Rule, their own Guiltiness, and the dreaded name of JUST ACCOUNT, which the People had long called for, discovered plainly that there were of their own Number, who secretly contrived and fomented those Troubles and Combuſtions in the Land, &c.

MILTON'S Character of the LONG PARLIAMENT in 1641.

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T O M D O U B L E
RETURNED OUT OF THE COUNTRY:
OR, THE
TRUE PICTURE
OF
A MODERN WHIG, &c.

WHIGLOVE AND DOUBLE.

Double. **M**R. Whiglove, I hope you have not been long alone.

Whiglove. No, Sir, I came but a quarter of an hour before you.

Double. Have you looked into the kitchen?

Whiglove. Yes, and find there are preparations for a noble supper.

Double. Harry Killigrew bespoke it, and I gave him full power to do what he pleased. I never eat with true satisfaction but when the entertainment is of his ordering, he has a most voluptuous fancy. If ever I reach the estate I have proposed to myself, which is about 100 or 150,000 pound, I am positively resolved to give him 500 a year only to inspect my table; he has prodigious talents that way, and might have been caterer to Lucullus. But I saw him this morning horribly vexed and out of humour.

Whiglove. How so?

Double. It seems he intended a soupe d'ecrivisse, and had borrowed my French cook, who does it to a miracle; but when all came to all, there was not a crawfish to be had in town. I did but hint that lobsters might do as well, and I thought he would have drawn upon me.

Whiglove. How was he pacified?

Double. I told him of an Indian house where he might have six birds nests that came by the last ship, which would be the greater dainty. At the mention of this his drooping spirits began to revive; but he said with a deep sigh, I am sorry to see the government so negligent as to suffer this town to be without crawfish.

Whiglove. I hope you sent him away smiling?

Double. Yes, yes, and he will be happy at least all this day, for I gave him out of my pocket 18 guineas to pay for the birds nests, and 12 guineas to fetch two dozen bottles of Tockay wine from a Hamborough merchant's of my acquaintance.

Whiglove. If two articles stand you in 30 guineas, for God's sake what will your whole Supper come to?

Double. We shall be twelve of us, and I believe it will cost me about 80 pound.

Whiglove. Methinks that is a great deal for one treat.

Double. It is so; but we, whose expences and riots are supplied out of the pockets of the whole people of England, must not value so trifling a sum as that is: besides, it is for the reputation of our party that such a little fellow as I was thirteen years ago, should be able and willing to spend 80 pound upon a single entertainment.

Whiglove. But will not these excesses and vanities give offence to some of our godly friends in the city?

Double.

Double. Not in the least; for ever since they began to smell at a court, which was towards the middle of the late King's reign, they have laid aside all their former sobriety and gravity of manners, and are become as expensive and vicious as we are, who never so much as made any professions of godliness.

Whiglove. When I heard Brawn give directions below, that the young chickens, squab pigeons, and wild fowl, should all be piled up in pyramids, I thought you had invited no less than 50 persons.

Double. No, we are to be but 12. And you see I have sent hither my own bufet, my own plate and linen, for I cannot bear with the nastiness of an eating-house, and had entertained you at home, but that our noble friends take a particular pleasure, and think it for their interest to show themselves often among their followers in the city. You are to have four courses, and the table-linen changed at every course. As to your meat, you have seen it yourself; and for liquor, I have brought my own Champagne, and perhaps it is the best you ever tasted. So that we will be as merry as good wine and Harry Killigrew's flights can make us.

Whiglove. Who are to be your company?

Double. Our three noble friends, some of our city gang, and two young gentlemen of quality and great estates, with whom I got acquainted in the North; they are at present extremely averse to our party, and one of the principal businesses to night will be to try if you can corrupt them, and bring them over to our side. They came to town but last night, and you see how diligent we are, that I have seized upon them already. But let me tell you, Mr. Whiglove, I chiefly make this supper upon your account, intending to take this opportunity of introducing you to our noble friends.

Whiglove.

Whiglove. Mr. Double, I am very much obliged to you for this great favour, and the honour you design me.

Double. Indeed I have told their honours very roundly, that you have been too long neglected. I have laid before them the services you have done in your circuits round the kingdom. I talk to them in this manner. "You are not to muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn." Honest Mr. Whiglove is not to spend his own estate to serve you: You reap the benefit of the lyes, false news, aspersions and libels, which he disperses every where, his labours help to uphold you in your greatness, he has vilified the last parliament, and contributed very much to poison the people, and to make them out of love with their constitution, he has endeavoured to excuse all your illegal proceedings; he has been your advocate when you were upbraided in every market town for having robbed the King and kingdom to enrich yourselves; in short, he has almost bawled and railed himself into a consumption on your behalf, and yet you give him no countenance, when you have preferred forty worthless fellows, because they flattered you to your faces, though they railed at you behind your backs. I likewise informed them how that to my certain knowledge four gentlemen of the other side had lately lost their elections, merely by the false stories you had raised about them in the country: upon the whole matter, I so recommended your merits to their honours, that I dare venture to say, I have laid the foundation of your fortune, and you shall see to-night how kindly you will be received. For my part I am so confident in what I say, that give me 5 guineas, and I will give you 50, if within six months you are not either in the excise or customs.

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Whiglove. Well, Sir, take 5 guineas, and I wish this may prove lucky both to yourself and me. But pray remember to tell them that it was I who trumped up the two false affidavits in Kent. It is true, one of them had not its effect at Maidstone, but the other did Colonel Gage's business at Rochester; the witnesses were of my suborning, and I hope you do not imagine such intrigues are to be managed without expence.

Double. No, no; I know well enough, by experience, that people will not forswear themselves for nothing: and I believe you are considerably out of pocket in the affairs you have been carrying on in the country; you have sowed largely, and now is the time to expect your harvest: nor will I forget to give them these particular instances of your zeal and industry in promoting the common cause.

Whiglove. When do you expect your company?

Double. A little past eight, and it is now about five. I desired you to be here sooner than the rest, because I had a mind to talk with you, for I think we have not been alone together since our last meeting at Garraway's in the summer, two or three days before you went into Kent and Suffex.

Whiglove. Strange things have happened since that time.

Double. Indeed measures have been taken beyond either our expectations or our hopes. And I must own to you, my friend, when you and I parted, though I endeavoured to set a good face upon the matter, yet my heart was a little sunk. Indeed there was such a tendency towards moderation in the country party, that I saw plainly enough we might scape with impunity, notwithstanding all our rapines and depredations in the King's revenue and treasure, and the irreparable mischiefs our weak and corrupt conduct had brought upon the kingdom

dom in the 10 years time we Whigs had the administration of affairs. For you know the other side is not implacable nor revengeful; they were inclined to let us go off with the booty we had gotten, rather than to embroil the realm, by engaging with a mighty band of publick robbers, all bent and resolved to defend one another.

Whiglove. But I suppose you, nor the heads and leaders of our party, were not contented with bare impunity.

Double. No, no, we had far a better game to play than at once to forego power, dominion, all the great employments of the state, and the hopes of fleecing England, as we had heretofore done. It is true, there was here and there a hen-hearted fellow among us, that thought himself happy to get away unpunished, but the rest were governed by a brisker spirit; the majority of us were like a crew of brave and bold pyrates, who having gotten a large booty, were indeed for securing it in some strong harbour, but at the same time we desired to launch out to sea again, in order to seek new plunder.

Whiglove. This was the most courageous, and I hope will prove the wisest course.

Double. I despise a sneaking genius, that is satisfied with moderate wealth and honours. Suppose a gentleman from 800 pound a year, comes to have at least 500,000 pound in his pocket, and to be made an Earl, is he to sit quiet? No, let him endeavour to get a million, and to be a Duke. If a lawyer from 300 a year in estate and practice both together, comes to have a good 6000 a year, and to be a Lord, is he to rest there? No, let him think of doubling that estate, and to be made an Earl. If another with fifty pound annuity, and whose young ambition looked no higher than tythe pigs, and a small parsonage, attains to a barony, to the

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most profitable employment in the state, and to be worth 80,000 pound in money, is he to bound his hopes there? No, let him aspire to be a Marquis, to have a blue ribbon, and to be Lord High Treasurer. As to the employment he has, he may assign it over to his brother in trust for him; and if they raked up such prodigious fortunes in 7 or 8 years, what may not be done if they get again into the same power, and live any time?

Whiglove. But will they not now have watchful eyes upon them?

Double. Prithee, who should overlook them, if we can get the majority. At the worst perhaps they will be sometimes flirted at, but give me fat sorrow; and I think him a great fool that cannot stand a reflecting speech, while he is getting 20,000 pound a year. But, God be thanked, England is so much changed, that now the people love a man the better, the more he robs them. And do not you see that we have turned all the anger of the rabble against the very persons who desired to save the nation's money?

Whiglove. Indeed vice prospers as well as our hearts can wish. The accuser is in more danger than the criminal. Virtue sneaks up and down unregarded, or rather despised, and wealth sanctifies any roguery whatsoever.

Double. I always took it for a good omen to see things brought to that pass. And let me tell you it was the general corruption of manners which I observed, that encouraged me to advise our friends not to withdraw, but to make a bold push to recover the ground they had lately lost.

Whiglove. You did discreetly.

Double. Some of them were so simple as to cry, We have got enough, let us stop here, we may burn our fingers; besides the publick is so much in debt,
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and its wants will be such, that no great matter can be got. I told them flatly they did not understand England, when they talked in this manner, that our wealth was inexhaustible, that the depth of our folly was never to be fathomed, and that if they pleased, they might cheat us on to the end of the chapter. Gentlemen, says I, do but reflect what a delicious morsel you will have in the spoil of a whole people, delivered over by a corrupt ministry, to be ransacked at pleasure. What if the nation be in debt, it is not so poor yet, that we cannot squeeze out of it four or five millions every year; and do you but procure swinging taxes, and let me alone to chalk out a way, by which our party may put a large proportion of the money into their own pockets.

Whiglove. This was home and well urged.

Double. By these and some other arguments of the like nature, I perswaded our friends to make a stand, and to erect their countenances, which were fallen ever since his majesty closed the sessions with such a gracious speech. I advised them to go down into the country, and to spread about every where, that the parliament would certainly be dissolved, and I wrote the same thing to all with whom I corresponded.

Whiglove. Your letters to me four months ago were so positive, that I took it for a matter absolutely determined.

Double. And yet, I knew no more of it at that time than I know who will be Duke of Venice a hundred years hence. Nay, between you and me, I myself believed quite the contrary; but not long after, as you shall hear by and by, I was let into the secret. However, it was necessary to affirm this confidently, because it made the underlings of our party the bolder in railing against the house of commons,

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commons, which perhaps they durst not have done if they had believed it would sit again; besides, this report kept our friends awake, and made them secure an early interest in several borroughs and counties in case of a real dissolution.

Whiglove. You need say no more to make me applaud this part of your conduct.

Double. When this affair was put into good order, we thought it seasonable to taste the people by some scurrilous libels. Out came Legion; of which there were dispersed upwards of thirty thousand. Your humble servant Tom Double was author of "The History of the Kentish Petition." And if you reckon the goodness of a book, Jacob Tonson's way, by the sale of it, I am no bad writer, for of my pamphlet there were printed near 10,000. Soon after we published the Vindication of the Earl of Rochester, and I am informed two of our noble friends clubbed their wits in that libel.

Whiglove. I had the parcel you sent me, and dispersed them; but I was told all the facts, as they are set forth in that paper, are false.

Double. Friend Whiglove, there is as much truth in the alcoran as in any of the papers we publish; I grant they are all rank falsehoods from top to bottom. But we Modern Whigs are for lying, though the lye will last but three hours; it is the cordial that has revived us in many a desperate sickness; for my own part, I am so used to it, that I hardly know when I speak true or false. And say what you will, a weak and corrupt administration, such as ours has been ever since we were in power, is not to be carried on without it. Besides, no private men can be so industrious to vindicate themselves, as we are to asperse them; it is utterly impossible. A lye shall reach to 40,000 persons, of which not the twentieth part come in a long time

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to be put right; it then has its effect upon all the rest. No, no, a seasonable lye is of great importance to those who have a foul game to play. And to prove what I say, by an undeniable instance, the gentlemen of the last house of commons, many of which we have so falsely aspersed in our libels, will undoubtedly in a short time clear their reputations to the whole world, the people will come to be disabused, and our villainous malice will be made apparent. But in the mean while have not our lyes made several of them lose their elections? I beg you would observe what good success Mr. Cockbrain and Mr. Slander have had in Gloucestershire. Truly, I did not think they could have prevailed to get Mr. How out, but I find our noble friends were in the right to bear the charges of that expedition, and by dint of downright lying you see what we have done there.

Whiglove. By what I can hear, never any thing was better managed.

Double. Our party took care to send thither five portmanteaus stufed full of libels; every freeholder in the county had one of each sort sent to his house; they were chiefly distributed by the presbyterian parsons, they were dispersed in every market town on the market day; and so careful we were, that where the people could not read, we had men posted to read the libels to them. Our lyes, of his having taken French money, and spoken disrespectful words of the King, passed for current, and by these engines we battered down an interest, that truly I thought was never to be shaken.

Whiglove. Yet I am told most of the gentry and substantial freeholders were for him.

Double. That is true, for they saw into all our base practices, and he had 1575 for him, of which 1400 were single voices.

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Whiglove. Why that is as many as he had when he was first elected; for as I remember, when he was first chosen knight of the shire he had but 1400; and at his last election 1700.

Double. It is true, but this time we mustered people from every part of the kingdom; and we had persons at Blackwell Hall, who all along while the matter depended, told the clothiers as they came up, England, and particularly the woollen manufacture, would be ruined if Mr. How was chosen.

Whiglove. This and some other transactions of yours makes me despise that want of diligence which I have observed in the church-party: When are they seen to play a trick of this nature? They think to support themselves by truth and honesty, as if that would do, when we have so corrupted all ranks and degrees of the people.

Double. I could instance to you above threescore gentlemen more who have been supplanted in their burroughs and counties meerly by the false whispers and abominable lyes that have been suggested by the tools and emissaries we have had in every part of England this whole summer. First, we instructed them to say, That all the country-party in general were bribed by the French King; but then besides, we had a distinct story for every particular person. Such a one uttered disrespectful words of his Majesty in the house of commons. Another has the Prince of Wales's picture hung up in his closet. Such a one spoke against the bill of succession. Another corresponds with the Queen in France. He who stands at your corporation, is a rank Jacobite; his partner was in the La Hogue business. He who sets up for your county, is intirely in the French interest. Thus they had something to say against every one. And I defy you to name any eminent man of the other side who had missed his election,

but I can show you the very point, upon which we blasted his reputation.

Whiglove. But had your agents no grounds for what they said?

Double. No more than I have to accuse you for designing to poison the Cham of Tartary. But our heads and leaders here in town reckoned up whatever they thought would be obnoxious to the people, then they ordered our emissaries to charge those crimes upon all such members as they intended to oppose. There was a certain presbyterian parson that you recommended to me, did excellent service.

Whiglove. Who do you mean, Caleb Case-hardened?

Double. The same: That fellow is worth his weight in gold. You cannot imagine what a ferment he has raised among the dissenters. He has rid post throughout all the kingdom, and frightened those of the separation out of their wits, by telling them the last parliament designed to deprive them of their liberty of conscience. I thought I could lye impudently enough, but he out-does me ten bars length. There are very few who have contributed more to influence elections than your friend Caleb. He has brought a great many of the godly to be of our side, who were alienated from us, and began to be reconciled to the candor and moderation of the church-party. Upon my word, I take his merits to be so eminent, that I think something considerable ought to be done for him. If you can persuade him to swallow the oaths, and conform, I here promise to do my utmost with the great ones of our party to get him made a B——p.

Whiglove. There is no doubt of his complying. But are there not some objections to his life and manners, that will be a bar to his preferment?

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Double. Those impediments we always overlook, if the man can be useful to us. It is true, he is vicious in his person, and very illiterate, but the worse he is, the better for our purpose; because such a one will be a scandal to his cloth, and bring a reflection upon the church, which it is our business to expose and render contemptible to the people. Besides, we shall have another advantage by his being in that station, he will bestow all the livings in his gift, upon such of the clergy as warp towards his principles, or who are directly of his own cut and stamp, which will add strength to our side; for you may plainly see what a party we have got among the clergy, by having had for so many years the disposal of the best benefices. Is it not visible how many gown-men have been brought to poll for our friends, though they cannot be such ideots as not to know, we hate and despise both them and their whole order? However the appearance of present interest draws many of them in to join with us.

Whiglove. Indeed we have sufficiently deluded some of the sons of Aaron, and made them act a strange part. Well, I will endeavour to reconcile Caleb to the surplice, and I doubt not but you will be a good solicitor for him.

Double. Fear not me, I am for encouraging him or any other who will inflame the people for us; it is by such fellows, and by our libels that we have outed so many gentlemen of birth, parts and fortune, which I hope will do our work compleatly.

Whiglove. By the way, I have often wondred, how our side, who are obnoxious to so much censure, and are guilty of so many real crimes, durst venture to cry whore first, and to begin the paper war, as we lately did, in such an outrageous manner.

Double. I will explain this to you. Had we designed to be only upon the defensive, to have lain quiet had certainly been best. But resolving to make a desperate push to recover the power and employments we had lost, or were in danger of losing, we thought in these sort of skirmishes, as in other warlike attempts, that fortune would favour those who began the attack. We saw any calm was fatal to our interest; that the tumults our Kentish friends had raised towards the latter end of last sessions began to vanish, and that the country party daily got ground upon us in the opinion of the people; we therefore judged it of absolute necessity to sow fresh sedition, to stir up animosities, and to revive the discords of the nation; which our pamphlets have, I hope, done effectually.

Whiglove. Without doubt you were in the right, not to let the new ministry fix and take root.

Double. Was it not heroick impudence in us to accuse them, by way of anticipation, before we could possibly know what they had done, or would do?

Whiglove. But all our party cry out they were not in the interest of England, during the late reigns.

Double. So we say indeed, but the devil of any solid proofs have we for these allegations. Under the rose, to my knowledge, most of the particular facts we charge them with, are meer inventions of our own; but these lyes serve to blacken them, and to amuse the people. But suppose what we say were true, as God knows it is far from it, do we like a man a jot the worse for any of his former actions, when he concurs with us heartily in what we are doing at that instant? If Lucifer would call himself a good Modern Whig, we should forgive his apostacy, and take him in with us.

Whiglove.

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Whiglove. Notwithstanding I knew the innocence of the Lords lately employed, that did not hinder me from roaring out every where in the country, that England was lost, if they were not removed, and our friends restored.

Double. How was what you said received?

Whiglove. Very well among the vulgar, but I met with frequent rebukes from men of sense, and such as understood the world.

Double. What did they say?

Whiglove. They told me, That if the noble persons, against whom I uttered my invectives, had been corrupt ministers, they would be richer than they are at present; they are men of but small expence, they were long in business, and yet it is notorious they have got but very moderate fortunes in the service of so many years; whereas, Mr. Whiglove, the ministers you cry up at such a rate, have been all along as riotous as Mark Antony, and yet they are as rich as Crassus: Nor has their luxurious vanity hindered them from being now possessed of vast estates, and they have done their business in a very few years; from whence follows, that one set of statesmen served honestly, and as well as the times would allow of, and that your friends have only served themselves, and robbed their master.

Double. What did you reply to this?

Whiglove. Faith I had recourse to our old trick, which is audaciously denying plain matter of fact, when it makes against us.

Double. But then I hope you urged how much national interest was neglected during the late reigns, and that the fault was in the ministry.

Whiglove. This I did, but some answered me, That the administration of affairs was very difficult, under Princes who have a different religion, and a different interest from their people. That such a

compliance, as might not be quite excusable, was requisite sometimes, in matters of no great importance, lest those should be brought in who would stick at nothing, and who were willing and ready to subvert the whole. But your friends have done ill under a good reign, and when they had a Prince upon the throne, disposed by interest and inclination to pursue the welfare of his country. Your friends had no women nor priests to rule him who ruled the whole; their misgovernment therefore was not of necessity, but choice, because they found they got more by a bad than by a good administration.

Double. I am sorry to see there are country gentlemen by whom we are so well known and understood.

Whiglove. Nay, they said a great deal more; and it is fit you should know all, that you may be the abler to fence against these sort of objections, when you meet with them in the court of requests.

Double. Pray let us have the whole.

Whiglove. It was reproached to me, and I doubt justly enough, That we Modern Whigs had stooped below all the most servile flatteries of the two late courts: That we had promoted all the bad, and opposed all the good things that were offered in the house of commons for ten years together: That we were for a standing army, and against the bills for better trials of treason, and for triennial parliaments: That from the treaty of Ryswick to the King of Spain's death, our great ones were in such a close conjunction with France as was grown scandalous even to the meanest of the vulgar: That every body smiled with scorn and indignation to see favourites and prime ministers acting the parts of gentlemen-ushers, and receiving count Tallard at the foot of the stairs at Kenlington; and wondered to find a French Ambassador, in a Whiggish Ministry, more

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careffed at court, than ever Barillon had been in the reign of King Charles the IIId.

Double. How was that to be avoided, when the partition-treaty was then in agitation?

Whiglove. To this was replied to me, That we ought not to have courted our own ruin at such a rate; That France was ready enough to undo us without all these shameful applications to their minister. Several told me, Europe owed all its present miseries to that fatal treaty; That, in particular, it had thrown England into such a labyrinth, that the wisest men in the realm knew not how to find their way out; That it has forced us upon a very difficult after-game to recover Spain from the Duke of Anjou, when he is in possession of it. They say, We and Holland joining as we did with France, frightened the King of Spain into making a will in favour of the house of Bourbon; and that the more we feel the calamities of the future war, the more we shall curse that pernicious council. In short, I was told, That men in their senses, by two or three skins of parchment, would never have given up to the French King so many large dominions without striking a stroke, unless they had been soundly bribed to it.

Double. Then they turn the taking money from France upon our friends and our party. I must own to you, it looks very suspicious upon us; for if it was worth the King of France's while to give money for any thing that could be done in England, it must have been to procure the partition-treaty, which, if it had taken the intended effect, had been a good pennyworth to him, though he had given a million for it.

Whiglove. I insinuated, That Holland had joined in this tripple league against Spain, and that commonwealths seldom were false to their own interest.

Double. How did that work?

Whiglove. It served well enough to amuse our own fools; but the other side bid me read over the first part of the "Partition of the Lyon in the Fable," in the original French, written in behalf of the Emperor, where it is plainly made out, That this whole transaction was managed with as much secrecy in Holland as it was in England; and that it would have been as ill relished by the States, had it been communicated to them, as it was by us when it was made publick here.

Double. It was well that unlucky book was not translated into English, it paints us in our true colours, and lays at our door the King of Spain's will, and all the bad effects it is like to produce in Christendom.

Whiglove. I thought that book had been translated.

Double. No, our party palmed upon the town a Grubstreet translation of a pamphlet that came out some time afterwards, not written by the same hand, nor with the same spirit, and we called it, "The first and second part of the Partition of the Lyon in the Fable."

Whiglove. It was dexterously done, and I see, you neglect nothing that tends to keep your mismanagement from being laid open to the people.

Double. Our great skill, and that which has and must preserve us, is our exclaiming against the least trip made by the other side, and constantly throwing a veil over all our own fatal and destructive councils: And if there were but a sufficient number of persons that could rail and lye with the same impudence that myself and some others, I could name, have lately done, I should not make the least doubt of doing what we pleased in England.

Whiglove. There is one point I could hardly get over among the country gentlemen; which was,

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our behaviour to the Scots at Darien. They told me, This colony would have secured us a footing in the Spanish West-Indies in case of the King of Spain's death. It was objected to me, That the Spanish Ambassador at that time scarce complained of this settlement, but that Count Tallard gave in memorial after memorial about it.

Double. Well, what about all this?

Whiglove. They say, We should not so shamefully have abandoned our brethren of Scotland, when the best part of their nobility and gentry were embarked in the expences of that expedition. They bad me read over certain proclamations, which indeed did contain some unusual clauses. It was alledged to me, That a very slender countenance from hence would have preserved that colony, which now would have been of infinite advantage to England. I endeavoured to palliate things as well as I could, and said, it would have been an absolute breach with Spain. To which was answered, You Modern Whigs were rather afraid it would have been an absolute breach with France, and durst not make a step that might then interrupt their measures.

Double. Indeed to have secured the Scots might have given great offence to the French King, while the two treaties of partition were upon the anvil: but had our party known he would have accepted of the will, Darien should have been assisted in such a manner as would have given his grandson sufficient trouble in the Indies; and I must own this affair, and our sacrificing the Emperor in the treaty which gave the Spanish succession to the Duke of Bavaria's line, excluding the house of Austria, as well as our making France so great, as we did by both those treaties, will be eternal blots in the scutcheon of a Whig-Ministry: But what is there our impudence will not bear us out in? We have railed

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at France so long, that though we should betray England twenty times over, the rabble will hardly be brought to believe it; and our comfort is, we can so delude them that they shall not see their own destruction till we have had an opportunity to fleece and rob them for some years longer, and then it is to be hoped we shall be grown too great to be questioned or called to an account by a few resty country gentlemen.

Whiglove. As to our usage of the Emperor, and as to our scandalous neglect of the protestant interest in Germany at the treaty of Ryswick, which matters were transacted while our party had the power, I had flims and excuses that passed well enough upon the fools I conversed with; but in Suffolk, at a club where there were several gentlemen of figure and fortune, and where I was crying up our noble friends, it was objected to me, the immense debt in which they had involved the kingdom during their administration.

Double. You should have denied matter of fact.

Whiglove. I attempted to do so; but one of them pulled out of his pocket an exact state of the debts made up the 5th of Nov. last, and such, he said, as might be depended upon.

Double. Well, what did they amount to?

Whiglove. The gross debt of England, reckoning principal and interest then due, was on that day, 17,031,833 pounds 11 shillings and 7 pence.

Double. But there are funds provided for most of these sums.

Whiglove. Yes, the act for making good deficiencies has engaged the old and new customs, &c. for 4,068,559 pounds 14 shillings and 6 pence. There are likewise other funds settled for 1,875,463 pounds 19 shillings and 5 pence. The three 9 pences and the duties on salt and stamp paper, are
also

also set out to pay the annuities, lottery-tickets, and interest money of the Bank and New East-India company; which debts did then amount to 5,612,995 pounds 15 shillings.

Double. Let us see your paper. (Reads.)

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
The act for making good deficiencies, &c. provided for by the general mortgage,	4,068,559	14	6
Provided for by other funds,	1,875,463	19	5
Provided for by the three pences, and the duties on salt and stamp paper,	5,612,995	15	—

Total of the debts provided for, — } 11,557,019 8 11

Well, all this we are out of care for.

Whiglove. Yes, but read further and you will find a long list of deficiencies for which as yet there is no provision made; Exchequer bills, malt tickets, first 3 shilling aid, 20 per cent. on paper, third quarterly poll, leather duty, third 3 shilling aid, and second 2 shilling aid.

Double. I see it, and on the said 5th of Nov. the principal and interest of these deficiencies amounted to 2,367,539 pounds 2 shillings and 8 pence.

Whiglove. But there are other debts still lying out, that is to say, To the navy, and victualling office, 1,100,000 pound; to the transport-service for the reduction of Ireland, 420,000 pound; and to the land forces and for arrears of subsidies to the allies, about 800,000 pound: There is likewise owing to the civil list at least 650,000 pound: And to Prince George of Denmark, on a privy seal for a valuable consideration, 85,000 pound principal

pal money, and 52,275 pound for interest, at six per cent. from the 31st of July 1691, to the 31st of Oct. 1701.

Double. Let us see the pen and ink.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Total of the debts provided for, — — —	11,557,019	8	11
Deficiencies unprovided for — —	2,367,539	2	8
Debts in publick offices, — —	2,320,000	—	—
Arrears to the civil list, — —	650,000	—	—
Prince George's debt, — —	137,275	—	—
In all,	17,031,833	11	7

Whiglove. But out of this you are to deduct 160,000 pound which may arise by the sale of the Irish forfeitures, and which is appropriated to the payment of several of these debts.

Double. Whiglove, I cannot help smiling to see thee mention that article with such a serious countenance: Canst thou be so dull as to imagine we ever design that any thing shall be made of those forfeitures? I wish we had it as much in our power to confound the authors and promoters of that resumption, as we have it in our intention to confound the act itself. We must render it ineffectual, were it only upon this single consideration, That all things ought to be done that may bring disgrace on the proceedings of the two last parliaments. But I find a strong inclination in our party to repeal the very act; and you may observe most of our late pamphlets look that way; 1,600,000 pound is but a trivial sum to be levied upon the people of England, but it is exceeding hard to take 110,000 pounds per annum of good Irish lands out of the pockets of not above 17 persons (for the bulk of the whole forfeited estates was given among this number) who

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for at least 3 years together, had wasted their time and labour at court in begging of these poor grants; and on my conscience, the people seem now to be so delicately disposed, that I believe they would readily consent to 8 shillings in the pound, rather than not break into this resumption. Do not you see they languish for taxes; and were they not in a manner angry with the last House of Commons, because they endeavoured to save their money? I hope our party will take care the same objection may not lie against them: and in order to it, one of the best things they can promote, is that all these Irish lands may be restored to the grantees.

Whiglove. I doubt this will not go down so glibly as I could wish.

Double. If it be done at all, it must be pushed at the first heat, in the honey moon that is now between the deluded people and the Modern Whigs; for as soon as our friends the rabble come to be cool, and think a little, they will look into this and several other designs we are forming for our own advantage.

Whiglove. Have you made any steps towards defeating this act?

Double. Can you suspect we have been wanting in so material a point? Have you not seen the circular letter, directed to the justices of the peace, grand jury, clergy, &c. of that kingdom?

Whiglove. What is the purport of it?

Double. It is dated at Dublin, the 23d of December, 1701, and begins thus: "Gentlemen, it is the opinion of our friends in England, who have an opportunity to make the best judgment of things, that if the King be rightly applied to, it may be in his power to procure us a relaxation of the grievances which the act of resumption has brought upon us; they therefore have taken care

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“ to meet frequently to consult of proper methods,
 “ and have imparted their thoughts to us ; we have
 “ followed their advice, and have made it our bu-
 “ siness to have the sense of the nobility and gentry
 “ here concerning the same affair. The result of
 “ all the consultations both there and here, and our
 “ unanimous opinion is, that the best, and indeed
 “ only way is, for all the counties in this kingdom
 “ to represent our grievances, and implore his Ma-
 “ jesty’s favour and assistance.”

Whiglove. What does this letter tend to?

Double. The design of it is to procure addressees from all the counties of Ireland, that the act of resumption may be repealed ; but you may perceive from the letter, it moves originally from our party here, who would be glad to raise the same ferment in Ireland, as they have done in England, being desirous to render the house of commons equally odious to both kingdoms. I suppose you will shortly see the address itself, it is as insolent as we could wish it, and couched in terms almost as disrespectful to the parliament, as the Kentish petition ; but it bespatters the trustees bravely. Among others, it has this expression ; “ That the whole scheme of
 “ the act, and the manner of executing of it, de-
 “ presses and discountenances the Protestant interest
 “ of this kingdom, and encourages the Papists,” &c. I suppose it was penned here, and sent over thither, as the sense of the great ones in England. How some gentlemen of worth have been drawn in to sign it, I cannot imagine, but there is nothing we cannot bring about by our artifices.

Whiglove. Some persons talk of taking 3 or 4 years purchase for these estates, and so to confirm the grants by act of parliament.

Double. I have heard of this project, but like it not ; it is a plain confession, we have at least robbed

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the nation of so much ; and it will still be a resumption, which we must never countenance in any manner, who intend to promote and set up a corrupt and rapacious ministry. For if part of an exorbitant grant may be resumed, by the same rules of justice, they may resume part of any exorbitant gain made upon the King and kingdom ; and if such a dangerous precedent should be established, no man can plunder the publick with any safety. I am therefore for insisting upon the prerogative; and for repealing the whole act ; it is but calling it a French design, and we may do the work ; besides, this is one of the points the heads and leaders of our party have undertaken to carry.

Whiglove. I am still afraid the people will not easily part with 1,600,000 pound.

Double. Well what we cannot do directly, we must endeavour to accomplish by indirect means. First, We will find fault with whatever has been done by the trustees: we will say they take bribes, give corrupt judgments, that they have harrassed all the people of Ireland, that they favour the Papists, and make it their whole business to discountenance the Protestant interest: We will try to cramp them for the future in their powers: We will give them all possible discouragement and discountenance: We will promote any sort of accusation that may be made against them: We will encourage petitions, let them be never so groundless or unreasonable ; in short, we will interpose so many delays and obstructions, that the whole affair shall languish to such a degree, as all the promoters of the act shall grow weary of it ; for, say what you will, we must utterly extinguish that publick spirit which some people have, of endeavouring to save the kingdom's money, because at the long run it will gain them such popularity, as must in the conclusion be fatal to our party.

Whiglove.

Whiglove. If that be your resolution, your debt will then be above 17 millions, which must be a heavy load upon those who are to come after us.

Double. Prithee what care we for posterity; this burthen, as you call it, will chiefly fall upon the landed men, and it is our interest to humble the ancient gentry, because they know our originals, and call us upstarts and leeches, that are swollen big by sucking up the nation's blood. Besides it has never been the principle of us Modern Whigs to look before us, we mind nothing but the present, let the future take care of itself, our business must be to gain time, and fresh opportunities of increasing our own fortunes; but pray tell me, What did the country-puts, you conversed with, say concerning this great debt?

Whiglove. Why they told me it was brought upon the kingdom by your corrupt and loose management, that if you had been either wise, careful, or honest, England needed not at this day to have owed a single penny.

Double. How did they make that out?

Whiglove. They showed me that at the beginning of the Revolution the crown revenue yielded clear of all charges whatsoever in the collection above 2 millions per annum; that the war did not diminish the excise; that suppose the excise and customs both together had been thereby decreased 500,000 pound a year, yet if you had not given away the hearth money, and if you had but managed the revenues, and protected our foreign trade with any tolerable care, the old branches would have been a very sufficient fund for 1,500,000 pound a year. That the three additional nine pences which you have laid upon beer and ale, would have been about 400,000 pound a year. That the 4 shilling aid might with ease have been brought to have yielded 2 millions a year;

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year; so that you had here for the war 4 millions annually, bating 100,000 pound. Over and above all this, you laid other extraordinary duties upon the excise from the year 1690, inclusive, to the year 1693, inclusive, which in the whole produced 1,112,274 pound 5 shillings and 4 pence. Besides which, during the war, you have had two single polls which amounted to above 550,000 pound, and two quarterly polls which yielded near 1,100,000 pound; and the capitation, &c. amounting to above 600,000 pound net money. Add to this the malt-duty, which produced 947,113 pound 6 shillings 9 pence half penny. Another gentleman likewise told me, That during the war, there were levied new impositions or customs, and double tunnage, besides the duty upon leather, upon marriages, upon births, &c. upon hackney coaches, &c. upon salt, and a duty on stamp paper, &c. and upon glass windows.

Double. Well, what did he infer from this?

Whiglove. He said, If we had done that at first, which we were compelled to at last, if these impositions had been laid in the beginning of the war, the nation had paid little less upon the whole than they did, and our debts now had been but inconsiderable.

Double. I hope you replied, That we had taken this course, but that the country party hindered us.

Whiglove. I said so, but they laughed at me, and answered, That we were all the while masters of the field, that the other side could seldom number above 80, and for several years together were never strong enough to carry a single vote, and that consequently all this male administration lay at our own doors.

Double. I cannot deny but that, within the year, all the money might have been raised, which was necessary for the war, even at the extent it was

managed; so that according to the notion of your country gentlemen, the kingdom had been at this day very little in debt, and without doubt this had been the best for England; but let me tell you, it had not been so well for us and our party. If the war had been carried on frugally, and at such an expence, as the nation was able to bear, how could we have got such prodigious fortunes, as all of us have done, that have meddled in the King's business? Had the money been raised within the year, the publick would have had little or no interest to pay; he would have been thought an extortioner, that had asked above 6 per cent. for his money. High premiums had been quite out of doors, tallies must have been all along at a par, and if the house of commons had been hard put to it to provide every year for that year's expence, they would have made an earlier inspection into the laying out of the kingdom's treasure; therefore our friends, when they came into play, took right measures for themselves, though fatal ones to their country, for the first thing they did was to plunge the state into as many debts as possibly they could.

Whiglove. But I have heard some even of the hottest sticklers for you, very much censure this part of your conduct.

Double. You mean, I warrant you, a parcel of four Old Whigs, who intend well to the publick, and would have every thing go in a right course; but can they imagine us such fools as to be of a party, and to make such a noise in the world as we do, only for the bare recompence of being called honest men, and good patriots? No, no, those musty morals are laughed at now-a-days. However, let us extol and flatter those gentlemen you talk of, as long as they will lend us their reputations, and grave countenances to play the knave under. Let

us

us tell them they are in the right, but for all that, we who are the bustling men, and who have our fortunes to make, will pursue our own game. I tell you positively, our party could not do a wiser thing for themselves, than to run the nation in this immense debt.

Whiglove. But how will it ever be paid?

Double. Let them look to that to whom the money is owing, it shall never trouble my head. I will take care of one, and withdraw my own effects at the first approach of danger, which I shall smell out as soon as another, and so let every one shift for himself.

Whiglove. However, I wish we were clear of this incumbrance, it will make raising of money hereafter very difficult.

Double. So much the better; for the more difficulties the government lies under, the higher our premiums and interest must be who design to be the lenders. How do you think so many of us have raised such vast estates? Was it not from the distresses of the publick, when they were forced to give 20, 30 and 40, nay I myself have made 50 per cent. of my money? Take it from me, Mr. Whiglove, the only time for a cunning man to thrive in, is, when the government is poor; at the rate I live, 5 or 6 such years as the three last were, would make me a beggar. I had as live lock what I have up in a trunk, as let it out at 6 or 7 per cent. but by the grace of God I hope to see better days.

Whiglove. Do you begin then to smell high premiums, large interest, and a swingeing discount upon tallies?

Double. Yes, I have a strong and a savoury scent of all this in my nostrils, just at this happy moment: methinks I see the officers of the fleet and army, widows of gallant men that have died in the service,

and whole shoals of those who shall furnish stores and naval preparations, come begging to me, as they did often, during the last war, that I would discount their tallies at 40 and 50 per cent. loss; those were glorious days, which we shall not fail to see again, if we can so work, as to restore our noble friends to the exercise of all their former power.

Whiglove. You are in a rapture, Mr. Double.

Double. I must own these golden expectations somewhat transport me.

Whiglove. But I hear some discreet persons of our party say, They will promote raising within the year, the whole money that from time to time shall be wanting for the future war.

Double. You are upon me again with your Old Whigs, I know this comes from them, they are men of fine notions, but take it from me, they have not practical understandings; however, let them weary themselves for a while in finding out ways and means of raising within the year, such a sum as we shall want, be assured, not a man of us Modern Whigs will give them any help or light in a scheme of that nature, it is too much against our interest. And when they once find in what a wood they are, they will be glad to close with us, who are for projects, remote funds of credit, and for running the nation into yet a further debt; and if we can but get them into this for two or three years, it will then be too late to see their error, for by that time we shall have pawned the whole kingdom.

Whiglove. I see you are very fond of remote funds.

Double. And with reason, for they are the bravest things that ever were invented for enriching private men, out of the ruins of the publick. Next to what I got by dealing with the clippers, I owe the best part of my fortune to these sort of projects;

whoever promoted them first had a long head, and a deep reach, and did very well consider and consult the interest of his own party.

Whiglove. Indeed I observe, that they who are dipped in these funds deeply, are our best and warmest friends.

Double. And yet I could never beat this notion into the heads of some of your Old Whigs, who forsooth are still for the ancient ways of supply, and the ancient methods of the exchequer: for my part, to the last moment of my life, I shall persist in this opinion, That they were in the right, who at the beginning of the Revolution, cried, "Borrow all you can; the more you borrow, the more friends you fix to your side; create new funds, all who shall be drawn in to lend upon them are embarked with you in the same bottom to run all your hazards:" And you see what good effect this has had.

Whiglove. It has wrought to admiration.

Double. Yes, but you will more applaud the subtilty of this counsel, if you thoroughly consider our circumstances. When we came first to court, most of us were as lean and hungry as so many wolves, and were resolved to grow fatter as fast as ever we could; and you may remember we did what we pleased, and had whatever we asked for.

Whiglove. Truly you had a full and quick harvest.

Double. After this we were to employ what we had gained to the best advantage, and how could we reap more profit than by these projects and remote funds. In 2 or 3 years, what by begging and what by cheating, a great part of the ready money of the nation was got into our hands, and then we began to wound the publick with its own weapons; for we promoted high premiums and large interest, and made the loans ourselves. We

got a bank erected, and our own party were the first and principal subscribers to it; and there we sold out at 40 and 50 per cent. profit. We devised exchequer bills, and got prodigious sums to be granted from year to year for their circulation, most of which money we shared among those of our own gang: in short, Midas-like, every thing we touched was converted into gold.

Whiglove. Beyond all dispute you laid your scheme with great skill and foresight.

Double. But we had a deeper and farther view than all this; for resolving, as we always did, to play a corrupt game, it was highly necessary for us to form to ourselves a strength that at all times might protect us in the thefts and depredations we proposed to make upon the publick; and could we have braver and bolder troops to fight in our defence, than as it were an army of men with their pockets full of bank-bills, bank-stock, malt and lottery tickets, exchequer bills, East-India stock, and who bore in their hands tallies instead of staves and truncheons?

Whiglove. It is impossible the country party can be able to resist this warlike preparation.

Double. So I think, for our forces are under admirable discipline. If we bid them attack any man's reputation, the word of command is no sooner given, but they fall on without either fear or wit. If we tell them it is for their interest to overthrow such a part of the constitution, or to destroy such a fundamental, they run blindly on without any sense of danger. And the trumpet with which we awaken the courage of our camp when it begins to droop, is Deficiencies, deficiencies, deficiencies; whenever that is sounded in their ears, they are presently in arms and ready for the battle.

Whiglove. So that you reckon this debt of 17
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millions a strength to our party, though it be a weakening to the kingdom.

Double. Yes I do, and with solid reason: and if the debt were doubled we should be just twice as strong. If England comes once to owe 30. or 34 millions, to which our conduct drives, I make not the least doubt but that we, having the publick thus in our clutches, shall be an over-balance to the land-interest.

Whiglove. If you could compass that, your work were done, for then all the power would be in your hands.

Double. It is that we aim at. Pray do but consider if there be a war, which truly I think now unavoidable, there must be levied upon land four or five shillings in the pound: as for my part, I am for more if we can get it; and you know there are few estates without some clog or other upon them. This being the case, the country gentlemen will be as much impoverished as our hearts can wish, our ready money in the mean while will increase like a snow-ball, rolling it about as we intend to do from fund to fund, so that all the fat of the land will be ours, and then most of the elections will be at our disposal; for the country puts, that make such a noise, when high taxes compel them to leave off house-keeping, and their bounteous way of living, will immediately lose their interest in their respective counties and corporations; then shall we go down, frolick at our ease, and wallowing in wealth, and beat them so out of the field that they shall not dare to show their sneaking faces. Some small purchases we shall make in land, and being able to live so much better than our neighbours, we shall carry all before us. In this manner we propose getting to be knights of the shire; and as to the boroughs, what will it be to a hundred of us to scatter his

500 pound a man to procure an election? A morning job at the Exchange will do it, when tallies are at a good discount; whereas your poor country gentlemen, who have none of these ways of thriving, cannot afford to make such expences, and consequently we shall undermine them in every place.

Whiglove. I see this debt of 17 millions will work several ways to our advantage.

Double. Yes, but it will be much better if by another loose administration we can see it doubled, of which I have a fair prospect; let me tell you we shall then have a certain game.

Whiglove. But will not the country begin to smother our designs?

Double. Never fear that, we have a thousand different ways to delude them. You know very well that most of these funds of credit are got into the hands of such as live in London.

Whiglove. I am told the Dutch are deeply concerned very near in every fund, which they have bought up here by commission.

Double. That is true enough, but this operates another way to our advantage, for it helps to engage Holland in the measures of our party; but as I said before, the bulk of this great sum is possessed by our friends in town, who have been the chief getters since the Revolution. Now I will show you what use we make of these sort of men.

Whiglove. Pray let us hear.

Double. First, it is they that disperse and applaud all our libels, false news, and all the scandals which we coin from day to day; it was they who gave wrong turns to whatever the country party did or proposed in the two last parliaments: if any had a mind to look into the publick accounts, or to save the nation's money, we got these our tools to represent them to their correspondents and relations

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in the country, as persons disaffected to the King and government; and mark what I tell you, if any one hereafter shall be so impertinent as to oppose the schemes which we have ready cut and dried, we will take such care that our agents shall brand them through the kingdom every post for Jacobites and Pensioners of France. And this we are able to do, having dipped London so deeply in all these loans; for the great affection our friends bear to their tallies, stocks, and riches of the like kind in which they abound, subjects them entirely to us and our direction, and makes them have no more concern for the publick of England than they have for the publick of Japan. These gimcracks and new devices of funds, stocks, exchequer bills, malt and lottery tickets, have turned the brains of a great part of the city: there is not such a thing left as publick spirit, and in its room we have set up knavery, extortion, and self-interest.

Whiglove. So you make account that having poisoned the capital and fountain-head, you can disperse the infection to the outward parts as often as they please.

Double. You hit the mark: as for example, if a lie is to be spread, here we forge it, and it goes round London in a day; next post carries it to the remoter counties, and so it passes for current through the kingdom, and perhaps not one in a hundred ever comes to be disabused. Do not you think it is of great importance to us to be able to write into the country, That it is the sense of the whole town, that the old ministers should be restored, and that the new ones were in the interest of France?

Whiglove. But I hope what you say, is really the sense of the town.

Double. The sense of a pudding; it is only the sense of us who are deeply concerned in these projects,

jects, and therefore desire to see their authors and inventors once more in power, that we may play the same game over again. I will own a secret to you, which you must communicate but to very few, and it is, That London at this time is no more the pulse of England, than it is the pulse of China; these 17 millions we have been talking of, occasion this town to have a distinct interest from the rest of the nation.

Whiglove. It will then be more so, if, as you propose, the debt shall be increased.

Double. I see you begin to understand my drift: it is of infinite consequence to have such strong headquarters, from whence we can make what sallies and incursions we think fit upon the laws and constitution of our country.

Whiglove. But, let me tell you, I cannot perceive in the parts where I have been, that you have made any impression which is like to be lasting; it is true, your lies and libels have had a good effect for the present, but to me they seem like intoxicating drugs, which make the patient mad for a while, but in a little time he recovers his former senses and understanding.

Double. If that should be the case, we must repeat the dose, and ply the people with fresh and stronger poison; we have a mine of lies and scandal that is never to be exhausted. Pray how did the BLACK LIST take in the counties that were under your inspection?

Whiglove. Mr. Kingcheat, I thank him, sent me ten quire of them into Essex; and at the same time I had a letter from Mr. Robland, intimating that I should not be afraid to disperse those papers; for that all the countenance imaginable was given to any thing that pretended to reflect upon the members of the last House of Commons, so that faith I even distributed my parcel.

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Double. Were not you a little frightened, when you saw by the gazettes that most of those gentlemen were chosen again?

Whiglove. Egad I did not like it; for I found that of 167, who are named in that list, there are but 46 left out of this parliament: sure our friends had conceived greater hopes from that libel, or they had never ventured upon so bold a stroke.

Double. Look you, there is nothing we were not to hazard in order to have a majority; if that point is gained we are safe, if not you know we are answerable for so many other crimes, this will hardly be worth the naming; besides, shall we be afraid to asperse particular gentlemen after we have dared to vilify the House of Commons in general? But my best hope is, that we are too many to be punished; for if we are called to an account, notice must be taken of the city magistrates and the justices of peace here in town, who have suffered the hawkers to cry such scandalous papers about the streets.

Whiglove. Indeed I never thought there could be any great danger in erring with the multitude: and if our success be such as you and some of our friends boast of, perhaps we may be strong enough quite to subdue the constitution; and if that be so, instead of punishment, our dispersing these libels will be reckoned as a meritorious piece of service.

Double. Now you speak chearfully, and I shall reckon things to be upon a brave foot if I could once see the representatives of the people so degenerate, as tamely to suffer us to trample upon them and their authority as we have lately done: impunity for this insolence of ours would render that assembly as contemptible as we wish to see it; therefore one of the first points we must endeavour to gain, is to have all these scurrilous pamphlets upon the House of Commons pass over in silence.

Whiglove.

Whiglove. Pray tell me, Was there any particular meaning in the printing some of those gentlemen's names in the black or Gothick letter?

Double. I was not in town when that paper came out, for I was then busy in the North about my own election; but since I came up, they who printed this list have let me into the whole mystery.

Whiglove. There are two names in larger letters, and nine in the little Gothick letter.

Double. The main end of publishing that libel was, if possible, to have exposed all those 167 gentlemen to the fury of the rabble.

Whiglove. I thought you only intended to make them lose their elections.

Double. No, no, we had a farther prospect than that comes to; if that had been the only design, their names had been printed all in the same sort of letter; but, under the rose, our party thought they had raised such a ferment in the people, that they could bring them to any extravagance whatsoever.

Whiglove. O, I take it now; probably you imagined that the mob might have been incited to commit some violence.

Double. Yes, yes, that was the secret drift of the club that projected this paper: when I first saw it, I began presently to flatter myself with the imagination that some of our enemies, and England's best friends, would have been murdered in the streets, or at least that the rabble might have been so hounded upon them, as to have plundered and gutted their houses, and by the black letters it was pointed out to them who they should begin with.

Whiglove. Would a proceeding of this nature have been to our advantage?

Double. Yes, without doubt; and take it from me, Mr. Whiglove, we shall never have the people thoroughly of our side till we have soundly dipped

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them in blood and plunder; it engages them past a possibility of ever retreating. I would ask you these plain questions, Are not the crimes of our party so manifold, that our heads and leaders can never be safe unless we overthrow the constitution? Is it to be overthrown without force? And can we employ that force better than against those who are able to give us the most opposition? God is my life, if that paper had but produced five or six murders, as we intended, it had been very seasonable, and of infinite importance to our future designs. "A dead dog never bites." And it was Matchiavel's way of silencing such fools as pretend to love their country in a corrupt age: besides, we would have given this turn to our villainy, that the rabble had only exercised the sovereign authority that is lodged in them; and our party would have affirmed, that if the people have a power to direct their representatives, it follows, that they may call them to an account, and do justice upon them, whenever they dislike their proceedings.

Whiglove. But your design did not take effect.

Double. No, pox on it, the people are not yet so mad as we could wish them: to bring them to the rage and distraction that will be necessary for the compleating all our projects, must be the work of time and patience.

Whiglove. There is nothing I wonder at more in your whole conduct, than the admirable use you made of three gentlemen's supping together at the Blue Posts in the Hay Market.

Double. That matter happened just before my going into Holland to carry on the main design.

Whiglove. This story has made a great noise in the world: pray tell me how the fact really was?

Double. I know a great deal of that matter: you may remember about that time we were at a
dead

dead loss for a lye that should carry with it some appearance of truth, which none of our inventing had done for many years.

Whiglove. Indeed our scandals have been generally so improbable, that I am often ashamed to disperse them, only there is nothing so gross that our party will not swallow: but here you had some foundation to work upon.

Double. But never was there a thing better improved: the truth of the business, as I have since heard, was thus: Mr. Hammond and Mr. Tredenham had agreed to sup together that night: about seven in the evening Mr. Hammond and one Mr. Awbery, a person of good substance and credit in the city, came to give Dr. D'Avenant a visit at Grey's Inn. The Dr. proposed to them supping at a tavern in Holborn. But Mr. Hammond answered, He was engaged to meet Mr. Tredenham at the other end of the town, and desired the Dr. and Mr. Awbery to be of their company; but Mr. Awbery said he had business in the city. So they went together without him; and in the way made a visit, where they staid till near nine o'clock; from thence they went to Mr. Tredenham's lodgings, who had left word he was at the Blue Posts; whom accordingly they found there with D. Barnardino the Spanish Consul whom he had met in the Park, and being an old acquaintance had proposed supping with him. In a quarter of an hour supper came in; when the meat was actually upon the table, it seems Monsieur Pouffin came to that house and enquired for D. Barnardino; the drawer fetched out Barnardino to him, who told Monsieur Pouffin he was at supper there with Mr. Tredenham: (now Mr. Tredenham, you must know, had a general acquaintance with Monsieur Pouffin, they having lodged in the same house together.) Upon which,

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D. Barnardino brought Mr. Pouffin into the room ; but seeing two strangers there, he made an apology and sat down. They supped in a ground-room, the door all the while open, and two waiters attending.

Whiglove. Is this accidental meeting all the foundation you had for a story which has made such a noise all over England? Pray how long did the company stay there?

Double. Not above three quarters of an hour at the most, for the moment supper was ended the company separated: And, I am afraid, they will be able to prove upon oath, if there should be occasion, every circumstance that has been here related. You are likewise to know that, whether it were by accident or contrivance I can not tell, but so it was, one of our noble friends supped in the same house that night.

Whiglove. That looks very oddly.

Double. So it does, when you consider that care was taken that the marshal of the ceremonies should serve Pouffin with his order to depart the kingdom, while he was in this company.

Whiglove. Is that fact true?

Double. Most certainly.

Whiglove. You cannot imagine to what a height we have blown this story in the country: I have heard some of our party say, they intended to impeach them for this business.

Double. No, pox on it, we must take care not to bring it to any publick examination, it is what I believe the gentlemen wish for; for then all our lying and roguery will be detected. And it is not our custom to bring any thing to the test, nor are we at all ashamed when any of our falsities are laid open; what we look for is to blast particular persons, and that the lye may have a present operation, and when it is found out or worn thread-bare, is it not an easy

easy thing to forge a new one? I cannot but laugh at some who say they all ought to have risen from table, and run out of the room, as soon as Monsieur Pouffin entered.

Whiglove. If they had done so, what turn would you have given it?

Double. That should have availed them little; for if they had been together but the fortieth part of a minute, we would have faced truth out of England, as you see we did in our libels, that they had been there 4 or 5 hours.

Whiglove. Well, I shall think our party very skilful, if we can bring the people to suspect persons for selling England, who live in a very strait and humble condition; and believe those innocent, who having been born to nothing, and who were not above 8 years in publick business, yet are now able to spend 8000 pound a year, and not hurt their estates.

Double. And yet all this, with our impudence, we are able to do. But are our noble friends to be blamed, when they had such a hand in advising the partition treaty, if they endeavour to throw off from themselves, and cast upon others, the guilt and suspicion of being bribed by France? And I will be bold to say, That this story, as frivolous and ridiculous as it was, lost Mr. Hammond his interest at Cambridge, who was so industrious and active in the service of the university; and has had such an influence, as to prejudice above 30 other gentlemen in their elections; for you see we made it the preamble to the BLACK LIST, and it has been a principal ingredient in all the other libels we have published.

Whiglove. But have you done your work by all these lyes and scandals, by the high ferment you have raised in the nation, and by the divisions you have

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have now revived, which seemed in a manner appeased presently after the prorogation of the last parliament? Have you established yourselves by all this bustle, and do you now stand upon firm ground?

Double. That I can not tell; but of this I am certain, That mischief and confusion make more for the interest of our party than a settled posture of affairs, or a good understanding between the King and his people. I am of Sir John Falstaff's mind, "I thank God for these civil discords, they offend none but the virtuous; I laud them, I praise them." A calm at sea makes me sicker than a little storm: do you know that the disposition we observed in the country party towards quietness and moderation, made us resolve to raise all this hurly-burly?

Whiglove. I wish you would be so kind as to let me know how matters passed in town, after I left you to make my circuit in the country.

Double. Well then, that you may have the whole chain of our contrivances in your head, you must understand that the eyes of the people began to be opened; and to think the house of commons in the right in not declaring an immediate war with France, till the King had formed his alliances, till our fleet was ready; and not to break with Spain, in a juncture, when we had to the value of so many millions of English effects abroad, which would have been seized if a rupture had happened, and which our merchants have since had time to withdraw or secure. And all sober men beginning to relish this council as safe and wise, we were at a great loss what to do, for the only occasion we had of clamouring at the house of commons was at an end, and we knew that all returns of the people to their right senses and understanding would be fatal to us.

Whiglove. Indeed I gave every thing for gone, when I saw no mob up, and no tumult raised, by all the scurrilous pamphlets we had published.

Double. But that which perplexed us most, was, the good temper which we observed to be in the other party.

Whiglove. Had you any knowledge of what they intended to do next sessions, in case the same parliament had sate?

Double. Yes, yes, we were acquainted with their whole scheme; nor were they shy of declaring it, both in publick and private conversation.

Whiglove. Pray what was it?

Double. They did unanimously resolve to support the King in the alliances he should make. And if these alliances did lead us into a necessary war, they were determined to engage in it as far as could well consist with the abilities of England. And to carry it on they were ready to raise as much money, as the kingdom is able to pay. They would also have provided for the deficient funds, as far forth as the condition of the nation could possibly have allowed of.

Whiglove. But were they willing to give 5 millions a year? For our side at the same time declared, they would come up to that, or more, if it were asked.

Double. No, I did not hear they talked of so large a sum; on the contrary, I am informed they proposed to put the war upon such a foot, that we might be able to hold out till France could be reduced to such terms, as should be safe for us, and the rest of Europe.

Whiglove. How much did they think of giving?

Double. I could not learn the particular sum, but I found they were resolved to give whatever should be absolutely necessary, and that the whole should be raised within the year.

Whiglove.

Whiglove. Why not 5 millions, and why all to be raised within the year?

Double. The reasons they gave, were these: That our foreign trade is already charged with such high duties, that it cannot possibly bear any further impositions.

Whiglove. But could they pretend that a general excise would not raise whatever should be wanting?

Double. That was mentioned by some of our side: But they told us, we talked of what we did not understand; that almost every branch of our consumption, which could raise any considerable sum, was excised already, except malt, flesh and corn; that leather, which people thought would produce a great deal, had been tryed, and yielded little. They likewise urged, That if every commodity of the kingdom were excised, as they are in France and Holland, yet the collecting and managing the duties, would not be understood in many years, so that the people must groan under heavy taxes, which, notwithstanding, would yield but a very small revenue to the publick.

Whiglove. Nay, it is an undeniable truth, that where the collection of a duty is not understood, the chief profit of it runs into the hands of the retailers, and the King's officers, and the publick reaps little advantage by it.

Double. And it is what the country party objected to a general excise. And I perceive their scheme was to have raised the whole within the year, without entring upon ways and means so dangerous to liberty; especially at a time when our party had given such visible and frequent occasions to suspect that we designed to set up for arbitrary power.

Whiglove. But why, were they not for 5 millions? Are the united monarchies of France and Spain, to be conquered under a less sum?

Double. To this they had a plain and ready answer, That they intended to proceed so, as not to be out of breath before they had run a quarter of the race: That they resolved not to follow our bad conduct: That at the rate of much less than 5 millions a year, England might have carried on the late war for 20 years together, without considerable damage to itself: That with any good management, the ministers had not been compelled to such a treaty, as was that of Ryswick, where the Protestant interest was so little consulted, and which we Modern Whigs were afterwards compelled to declare, not sufficient to preserve the safety of Europe. They said likewise, That notwithstanding our debts, and though the kingdom is so exhausted of its treasure, yet we should still be in a condition to raise such a sum of money every year; that if it were well managed and laid out, England would be able to support the Emperor, distress Spain, Portugal, and the Spanish West Indies, and to give the prospect of carrying on so long a war, as would make the French King weary of the business, and glad to give his Imperial Majesty, and all other his confederates, intire satisfaction.

Whiglove. But what objection could they make to enlarging the war, by giving towards it 5 millions? This had been something to the purpose, and would make such an impression, as in two years, for ought we know, would quite overturn both the French and Spanish monarchies. And can the other side deny, supposing the last parliament had been suffered to sit, but they might have raised 5 millions a year, for two, and perhaps three years together, if they would have been willing to go into our measures, and to plunge the nation into fresh incumbrances, as we did from time to time. Is it not obvious that nothing is more easy than to run into

into debt? I grant it is difficult to get clear again; but does not all modern policy run upon the present, without any regard to the future? You say, Malt, flesh and corn remain unengaged. There are besides, leather, soap and candles. In 2 years, 4 shillings in the pound upon land, would raise near 4 millions; and if they had been willing to have mortgaged for 5 years those branches of our home consumption, perhaps upon so good funds, they might have raised the other 6 millions; thus they would have had 2 years provision for the war, and in that time, I make no doubt, but we may over-run France and Spain.

Double. To this they answered, That the war could not be put upon so high a foot, without extreme hazard to the nation. For suppose France and Spain should act defensively, and that you cannot be able to make such a strong impression upon them, as you propose to yourselves; or suppose they should contend with equal success, then what will you do at the end of the 2 years, when you have pawned all England, except the land? And when every thing shall become so much dearer in the market, will gentlemen be willing to give out of their estates 10 shillings in the pound, for it must come to that, when there is no other way left to raise money? Perhaps they may be brought to it for one year, but they will soon grow weary of such a burthen, of all which, the consequence must be, that at the end of 3 years, if you begin the war upon a higher foot than you are able to carry it on at, you will be compelled in a short time to make a destructive and ignominious peace; whereas we can hardly be unsuccessful, if it be managed at an expence which we are able to bear for any long tract of time. Upon the whole matter, I found it to be the general sense of the country party, not to

come up to 5 millions per annum, and what they gave to be raised within the year. But I must tell you by the way, they intended to take care that none of the money should be imbezelled, and that it should be laid out with the utmost frugality imaginable.

Whiglove. Well then this was their scheme for the war; but could you discover what they proposed to do in other matters? Would they have let us and our friends alone? Were they willing we should have gone off with the high titles, vast estates, and great preferments we had gotten?

Double. Even in this point it seemed to me apparent that they intended to go as far as was possibly consistent with the very being of the constitution.

Whiglove. Do you think they did not design to begin where they left off?

Double. No, the contrary is manifest; and I am confident that rather than they would have given any interruption to the business of an immediate war, they would have postponed most of the inquiries and accusations, till they had secured the kingdom from foreign dangers; which would so have antiquated the whole proceeding, as it could hardly have been taken up again. This prudent course had been a present saving to their own privileges, and looked like gratifying our side, who they saw were ready to stir up a civil war in the nation, rather than that the persons accused should be brought to justice; to avoid which, the country party were contented to sacrifice their resentments arising from infinite provocations.

Whiglove. But had they no reserve? Would they not have picked out here and there a man to have made an example of, that future ministers might have been afraid of treading in the same steps?

Double.

Double. I am credibly informed they purposed to meddle with nobody, that would have been contented to go off with impunity, and who would have withdrawn from publick business, without showing a spirit of outbraving the justice of the kingdom.

Whiglove. This would have contented me, had I been in their cases.

Double. We were all determined to play another game, and the dissolution was a bisk in our sleeves which you dreamed not of.

Whiglove. But if that should not have the success you expect, yet I hope they intend to proceed in the same steps of moderation towards us; if they do, our heads and leaders will still escape punishment, so that perhaps the broils they have lately stirred up may do them good, and not hurt them.

Double. That I will not answer for: And to deal plainly with you, I doubt we have no hope left but in our numbers. For last summer in a coffee-house, I overheard a leading man of the other party, talk to a friend of ours to this purpose, and it has stuck by me ever since; our friend had been saying to him, That all these inquiries were but the effects of faction, and that it were better to forget what was past, in order to reconcile animosities for the future. The other gentleman replied, " If 'to forget past
" transgressions will conduce to this, if to believe
" themselves and their friends safe, will bring men
" more willingly to shake hands with those whom
" their conduct has but too justly offended; if not
" only so, but that things are carried with such mo-
" deration, as not to put any side out of hopes by
" fresh merits towards the publick, not only to
" have its forgiveness but its favours; if this would
" so work, as to make names and marks of distinc-
" tion to be no more remembred among us; if this
" lenity would so operate, as to make us unite in

“ the cause of our own liberties, and for the preservation of all Europe, the good effects this would produce at home, may turn to better account upon the whole, than by looking into former offences, to give those examples of publick justice, which are peradventure expected. Therefore I am not against postponing these inquiries.”

Whiglove. Was our friend to whom this was spoken an Old, or a Modern Whig?

Double. He was an Old Whig, and relished mightily what the other said, who proceeded thus: “ But if there is a sort of unquiet spirits, who not contented with impunity, will still be grasping at power; who bear implacable minds to the very persons they have injured; who instead of paying that submission to the publick that does not misbecome even the clearest innocence, presume to out-dare the justice of their country; who will not give over provoking those who incline to sacrifice their own private resentments to the nation’s peace; who will not be satisfied unless they are allowed to govern that state which shows unprecedented mercy to let them go off unmolested; who still foment divisions, and keep up parties, in prospect by their aid to be re-instated in their former greatness: If such men there are, let it not be called faction in those who unite together in rescue of the laws: If some will combine in mischief, others must join in as firm a band to give them opposition: And if there are those who think to out-brave justice, her sword ought to be drawn upon them.”

Whiglove. What did your Old Whig say to this?

Double. He told the gentleman he was in the right, and that our noble friends ought to know when they were well; that if they would hazard their heads, it was their own fault; that for his part, he

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he would forsake them if ever they pretended to appear any more upon the stage of business.

Whiglove. Upon the whole matter, I find by you that this country party, at which we have railed so much, did resolve to engage in a war, and (except giving up the very constitution) to do every thing towards reconciling the differences and animosities of the nation.

Double. There is not the least doubt to be made of it; and our anger to them was not because we thought they would not, but because we knew for certain that they would do all this, and whatever else should be profitable to the King and kingdom. It was this opinion that made us tremble, and think of measures to procure a dissolution.

Whiglove. But had you any plain proof that this would be their scheme the following sessions, or did you only guess at it from the discourses of the town?

Double. No, no, we had something more than common talk for our surmises; we saw the church-party much more in earnest than ourselves, to promote those addresses which were occasioned by the French King's pretending to intermeddle in the disposal of our crown. We could not find any one of them stick out; but, on the contrary, they all concurred heartily in expressing their zeal and affection to his Majesty's person and government. This did them good, and us hurt with the people, and made the falshood of all our stories manifest: for in these addresses, those gentlemen did publickly list themselves against that interest which we had represented them to be then promoting. And after they had made such steps, they had been mad indeed to oppose a war if the King thought it necessary.

Whiglove. Some of us were strangely surpris'd to see them so ready to concur in whatever had the appearance

appearance of respect and duty to the King; our heads and leaders had made us believe the contrary, and gave this for a reason why we should promote addresses.

Double. But we had other proofs that they were both for a war and for healing breaches. All the most considerable men of the party declared it to be their sense.

Whiglove. It seems then you got a knowledge of their whole scheme.

Double. They made no secret of it, in which I think they acted imprudently; for on my conscience, if they had taken a contrary course; if they had dissembled their good intentions to the publick; if they had made as though they intended to oppose a war, and to revive differences between the two Houses, our party had never desired a dissolution.

Whiglove. No; for your business was to expose them to the people, and to put them as much in the wrong as possibly you could.

Double. I must tell you we were frightened out of our wits to observe this moderation of theirs; and to find that no madness of ours, nor provocations from our side, could make them alter the measures they had proposed to themselves; and that in spite of our teeth they would do what in them lay to save the kingdom, whose liberties were invaded by us at home, and which was in danger from abroad by the exorbitant power of France: We found they recovered their popularity apace, of which we had endeavoured by our misrepresentations to bereave them: We saw their frugal conduct; their care of the nation's money; their avoiding all taxes that were not of absolute necessity, would rivet them for ever in the affections of the people. It was likewise evident, if the King should once taste the difference between being served by men of principles and of honour,

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honour, instead of having the business of the state done by a crew of upstarts, with false hearts, and rapacious hands, he would soon grow to think those his best friends, whom we have represented as his only enemies. Upon the whole matter, we gave our party for lost and gone if a parliament should be suffered to sit again, which we knew was so well disposed to the service of their Prince, and yet at the same time not unmindful of their country's interest.

Whiglove. You had nothing left but to cry out for a dissolution.

Double. Our endeavours at home, in order to it, were to no purpose. We tried to foist words into several addresses, as if the country desired it; but so few joined with us in an attempt of that nature, so entirely new in our constitution, that we were forced to give it over. Indeed many of our side, especially the Old Whigs, cried out upon it as a dangerous innovation; and that if a disbanded ministry could prevail upon the people to address against one parliament, for ought they knew a ministry in power might work upon them to address against parliaments in general, and so bring in arbitrary power.

Whiglove. It was shrewdly urged.

Double. Seeing what a cold scent we had at home, it was resolved among us, as our last expedient, to try what we could do abroad. You may remember at our last meeting upon the Exchange, I told you we had emissaries posted in all the great towns of Holland.

Whiglove. You did so; who were to spread about there, that the parliament was selling England to France by inch of candle.

Double. It seems our noble friends were not well satisfied with the conduct of those whom they had employed upon that business: They were willing, but

but not able to do the mischief they were sent about. I was therefore requested to take upon me the trouble of going thither.

Whiglove. Their honours could not have pitched upon a fitter man than Mr. Double for an ambassador to represent their persons.

Double. I went with a good retinue, and a very rich equipage: I ordered my people to give out, That I was a gentleman in the North of 5000 pound a year; that I had a great interest in my country; that I was a member of parliament; and, that I had the command of five or six boroughs. The port I lived in soon brought me into the best company.

Whiglove. What did you make the pretence of your being there, was it to see the country?

Double. No, I told them I was sent thither by the sound party of England, to implore the assistance of their common-wealth; that our nation was now more over-run with Tories, than Ireland was in the time of Queen Elizabeth; that we wanted their help to root them out; that Count Tallard had played at picquet with a majority of the House of Commons; that they had won of him 7000 pistols a man; that they had actually sold Holland to the King of France, and had agreed to sell him England the very next sessions, if they were suffered to sit; that the whole church-party were against making good the treaty of the 3d of March, 1677, by which England is bound to assist Holland with such a proportion of troops in case of a breach with France; that they would not have made a step in their favour last year, but that the Kentish petitioners compelled them to it; that they were resolved to a man not to enter into a new war; that every night at the Vine-tavern, the whole club of them drank confusion to the Emperor, Prince Eugene of Savoy, and the German forces in Italy.

Whiglove.

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Whiglove. But did they swallow these abominable lies?

Double. They went down among some of them as glib as their own butter. In short, I declared publickly where-ever I was, That nothing could save them but a dissolution. It is true, I often met with persons of great worth and understanding, who said, They had no reason to complain of the English parliament; That all their memorials had been immediately complied with; That they could not but approve of the gravity and caution of those councils last year; That a wise common-wealth, such as theirs is, was not to take their measures from a hot-headed party, that were enraged because they had not been suffered to rob the publick at their will and pleasure.

Whiglove. What did you reply to this?

Double. I seemed amazed to hear them talk so. Sure, said I, none of you ever receive any letters out of *England*. Except just a party in the house, corrupted with French gold, there is not a single man in the whole realm that does not call out for a dissolution. But there was one of the States, that seemed to be of considerable weight and authority among them, who answered me thus. Sir, I have correspondents in England, and with those who to my knowledge have been for these twenty years what you call Whigs, without ever changing their principles, and who are great lovers of our Republick. They have quite different notions from you, and write me word, That all things go very well, and that those whom you are pleased to name Tories, think themselves almost as much concerned to protect Holland as to preserve their own country. Indeed some merchants, and my brokers, and those who have commissions to buy up for my account, tallies, Bank and East-India stocks, are all in your note, and rail at the parliament; but

but I understand England well enough to know which way they are byassed; they long to fish in troubled waters, and to see money at 30 per cent. but for my part, I am fully satisfied with the gentlemen of the house of commons. A dissolution will put the affairs of Europe very much back: A session late in the year, for ought I know, may ruin the whole summer's campaign. Besides, what assurances have you that new provocations will not beget fresh animosities? The last parliament was upon a right bottom, they were for inquiring into and correcting male-administration; nor do I believe, you can be able to find a set of men that will sit contented and see the nation plundered.

Whiglove. Your Dutch-man talked very knowingly of our affairs.

Double. When I heard him say so, I told him I was impowered by some of the greatest persons in England to assure him and his country-men, That in case of a dissolution, not one member of those who were for the impeachments, should be again elected. I showed him a long scrawl of above two hundred persons (you will find most of their names in the BLACK LIST) every one of which should infallibly be thrown out. And that there should not be a man chosen that was not intirely in the interest of the court, as the Leyden gazette terms it.

Whiglove. How did that work?

Double. He received what I said very coldly, and said, He hoped their State, upon the bare words of such as I was, would not rashly engage in a matter that might be of so fatal consequence to their common-wealth; for that the gentry of England could not but deeply resent their intermeddling in the calling or dissolving our parliaments. Upon which I told him, he talked like a Jacobite, a French pensioner, and one of the Lovestein faction.

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Whiglove. How did he take that?

Double. He received it with a scornful smile, and made no reply; but I wish I had held my tongue; for his son, who is an officer in the army, met my worship next morning, and rebuked me very sourly; and I, whose shoulders have been accustomed to wood of all kinds, dare boldly pronounce, it was with a cudgel of our own English Oak.

Whiglove. These accidents happen often to you, Mr. Double; but you fortify your self with your philosophy against disasters of the like nature.

Double. I do so; but though I had no better success with this rough blade, yet I and those who were sent from hence upon the same errand, prevailed upon a great many others of the leading men in Holland. We promised them mountains: That if the parliament could be dissolved, England should make itself principal in the war; That though we might begin with fewer troops at first, yet that in 2 or 3 years they should have an army of 87,000 men, all paid by us; That the Modern Whigs would so order matters, that a new war should as much enrich their country, as the last did: In fine, That if they would but help us at this dead lift, our noble friends should for ever be at their devotion; That we would sacrifice to their interest our trade, our safety, our ships, men, and money; and that our whole party should be directed, without any reserve, by their councils.

Whiglove. I suppose they who had been sent into Holland before, when they came to concert measures with you, grew better instructed in the parts they were to act.

Double. As to railing against the last parliament, and at the ministers at that time in power; and as to crying up the strength, interest and numbers of our own party, I myself could not have done it better;

better; but they wanted the nice skill of giving every thing its right turn, which only I could do who have been bred at the feet of our two Gamaliels.

Whiglove. I wonder though, how you could pass yourself upon them for a parliament-man, seeing there was then in Holland a goodly plump gentleman of our acquaintance, a reverend magistrate of this city, and who was himself a member of the last parliament; how came he not to discover you?

Double. Faith, I was within arms-ace of being found out; for one night at a mum-house, where I was eating a butter-ham and pickled herrings, with some of the states, and where I was giving myself airs of greatness and interest in my country, swearing I myself would take care that my county, and three counties round about me, should choose none but hearty Whigs. Pray, Sir, says our alderman, who means well, but is apt to blunder, what borough do you serve for; I do not remember your face in the house of commons? But I seemed not to hear what he said, and turned the discourse, by drinking in a rummer that held above a quart, confusion to all those in the two last parliaments who were against a standing army.

Whiglove. Pray, what help had you from Mr. Gospelicorn? I hear he was employed to represent abroad, what was the sense of all the libertines, Socinians, and atheists in the kingdom, as to the high point then in agitation.

Double. When I saw him he had not yet been at the court of Hanover to present his book, and receive his gold medals; and he was as tattered as an heretick that had lain 7 years in the inquisition at Goa; but I presently made a gathering to new-rig him. I wonder his great city-patron did not take care to send him out in a better equipage. When he had got new cloaths, I introduced him

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into good company : Though I know him to be more than half mad, and an ignorant coxcomb, I told every body that he was such another in England, as their Spinosa the Jew was in Holland ; That it was true he had no religion, but was a very deep politician ; That the great men of our party did nothing in affairs of state without his advice ; That he was forming a scheme to abolish kingly government, and to establish a commonwealth in England. That it was true there were not above five or six men in the nation, that agreed with him in all his principles, but that in some of his tenets, he had a great many followers, especially among the Modern Whigs, though the old ones had cast him off ; and that as contemptible a figure as he seemed to make, he was not to be neglected, as being the apostle of the libertines, Socinians and atheists, who every day grow more and more considerable.

Whiglove. Mr. Gospelcorn for the oddness of his birth, may be Antichrist, for he was begotten by an Irish priest, when he was full of usquebaugh, upon a cook-maid of the kirk of Scotland ; and methinks the names of Liberty and Property don't sound well in his Irish brogue. As to lying and railing, I doubt not, but he plaid his part as well as the best of you all.

Double. Indeed we all performed to a miracle ; there were 40 of us dispersed in the 7 provinces, and we all agreed to cry up one another for rich merchants or great statesmen, men of interest in our country, and to be the only good patriots of the nation. So that in a little time we wrought a wonderful change in the people's minds of Holland, and made both high and low believe as bad as we could wish of the last house of commons. I need not explain myself any further, you know well

enough what followed; and as soon as we had got certain intelligence what would be done, we dispatched Mr. Gospelfcorn, as our express to carry the news of it to our friends in England; but he acted a little too openly in laying such odds at the Grecian coffee-house, that there would be a dissolution, but we forgive any trip our friends make, if they get money by it. When he came over, I gave notice, by letters, to all the principal men of our party, that they should get into the country as fast as ever they could, and prepare to make their interest, for that infallibly there would be a new parliament; and a week after I came over myself.

Whiglove. But you did not stay above a night in London.

Double. No, I went immediately into the north, where a friend of mine had been the whole summer, treating a corporation, in order to make me a member. I had impowered him to spend 5 or 600 pounds, and moreover to promise 10 pound a man, to every elector, in case I were chosen, which would have been 1,200 pound more, for there are 120 who have voices in the town. I went into the north with a much better equipage, than when I sneaked into Cornwall with my calash and 4 hackney horses; the world is well mended with me since that time; I had now my coach and six, and half a dozen servants in livery, very well mounted. I took likewise to bear me company, Mr. Wriggle and Mr. Fleeceum, one of which had been a groom, and the other a bayliff's follower before the revolution; but by fingering the publick money, they are now both become almost as rich as myself. When I arrived, I was received with huzzas and ringing of bells, and all other marks of the peoples joy to see me, only the parson of the parish did not at first come near me.

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Whiglove. How came he to stand out?

Double. I sent for him that evening: He came, and told me plainly that for his part he would not give his vote but for some gentleman of the neighbourhood; that if none stood, he would not meddle at all in the election, and that he could not approve of strangers coming from London, to supplant the landed gentry in their own burroughs. I took this for an ill omen, because I had been informed, that the good life and hospitality of my divine had made him very popular in the place where I was to stand; however, for the 5 or 6 first days, I sailed with a prosperous gale, not apprehending the least obstruction; but at last I was certainly told, that one Mr. Oldworth, a gentleman of a great estate in the neighbourhood, had been prevailed upon, much against his own inclination, to accept of standing for the burrough; however the crack of the field still went for me, for not valuing the act of parliament of a rush, I had treated the whole time, and kept the people drunk all the while; but on Sunday the parson would not let them drink, and they had that day to cool in: On Monday morning early, the doctor invited all the voters to a sober breakfast at his house, and told them that he would read to them a book, which he had just received from London. I had some jealousy that the black coat had no good meaning towards me, and would fain have dissuaded them from going, but there was no resisting the breakfast, and good ale, with which they were so well acquainted; so that in spite of my teeth thither they would go, and soon after I followed to see what was in agitation.

Whiglove. These true old church-men are none of our friends.

Double. I found him sate at the upper end of his hall, with his congregation standing in a circle

about him, and a long table well covered with cold meat; he had a little pamphlet in his hand, and as soon as he had desired silence, he began to read, "The true Picture of a Modern Whig, set forth in a Dialogue between Mr. Whiglove and Mr. Double, two Under-Spur-Leathers to the late Ministry." Being in Holland, I had never heard that our last conversation upon the Exchange was in print. You know I am not easily put out of countenance, but I must confess, I was somewhat dashed to see myself so painted out in my own proper colours. Mr. Wriggle would have interrupted the parson, but you know it is an old rule, That in any assembly, nothing can get the better of news, and they all swore they would have the book read out, so that I was compelled to be a gentle auditor, and to hear all my former rogueries repeated before my face. When he had done reading, Mr. Fleeceum would have bore him down, that I was not the Tom Double there meant; but just as we were wrangling upon that subject, in came Mr. Oldworth, with 4 or 5 gentlemen more of the country, who all knew me, as well as I am known at Garraway's; at the sight of these we were forced to be silent, and apprehending some mischief, we retreated to our inn.

Whiglove. And from thence I suppose you got away, as you had done before in Cornwall, having the fear of a blanket before your eyes.

Double. Troth, I had some thoughts of doing so, but I considered, that then was then, and now is now; what you speak of was 10 years ago, and I presently made this reflection with myself, That we had been debauching the people so long to little purpose, if one of my character might not offer himself a candidate in a little burrough, notwithstanding that his rogueries were made publick to all

the world, so gad I took heart and resolved to stand it out.

Whiglove. It was an heroick resolution.

Double. About noon, some of my managers brought me an account of all that had passed at the doctor's; they told me that their town, like most places of England, was divided into parties, that the reading this book had intirely lost me all the church-men, and all the old stanch whigs, who declared they would never have such a fellow for their representative, and at the same time near three-score declared for Mr. Oldworth, signing a paper to choose him. I seemed a little dejected at this news, but one of them came to me, and said, Sir, bear up, I will warrant you we will carry the election for you. He had no sooner said this, but there rushed into my room about 40 or 50 of the electors, their spokesman was an Anabaptist, who accosted me in this manner: Friend, we have been with the parson, and have heard the book read, and all of us take it for granted, that you are the very Tom Double therein mentioned; but we hope for all this, though you may have been somewhat faulty in your actions towards the world, yet that you are a godly man, and of our party; and I am bid to say, That all our congregation, and all the Modern Whigs, will be for you: if you have got money by cheating the publick, you are the abler to do us good; the more crimes you are charged with, the closer you will stick to our noble friends now under tribulation. The wealth you have gotten is a mark of your wisdom; be but for us, and it is no matter what you yourself are. This is not a time of day to consider of the virtues or vices of men; all we are to look into at present, is, how they stand affected to the cause. If we can have assurance, that in due season you will join with

us in pulling down the church and monarchy, by the grace of God you shall be our representative.

Whiglove. Ananias spoke comfortable words.

Double. At this I roused myself, and made them a very handsome speech: I told them I hoped all the actions of my life had made it manifest, that I did not care for kingly government, any farther than as I could make my advantage under a negligent and corrupt ministry. That the virtues of the King were such, as to make it impossible to shake the throne during his life; but that hereafter, when the times would admit of it, for my part I should readily concur with our sovereign Lords the people, in any establishment their wisdoms should think most convenient for the nation. As to the church, I said, That for several reasons it was not proper, in this juncture, to talk of rooting out episcopacy, but that when we had drawn what uses we could from that order, our party thought it would be then time enough to lay them quite aside; but that, if I had the honour to be chosen, I would immediately do my utmost to take off the sacramental test, by which the brethren would forthwith be let into what they most aimed at, that is to say, all the employments of power and profit in the kingdom; and that my friends who stuck to me should share in all the gains I could make by the trust they were going to repose in me.

Whiglove. No Grecian orator could have spoke more to the purpose.

Double. After this I dismissed the assembly, and ordered Mr. Wriggle to give the whisper about, that instead of 10, first promised, all my voters should have 20 pound a man, which I thought would keep them all tight to me, and so we went and visited over again the good women of the town, where I dropped my guineas to all that would receive them,

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them, and among them I found I had a better interest than with their husbands.

Whiglove. But it seems all would not do.

Double. No, the election was to be next morning, and the damned parson was indefatigable: He told them, That such open bribery must certainly end in disfranchising their corporation; and that to choose such a scoundrel would be an eternal blot upon them; however I saw myself strong enough to venture a poll, and that if I failed I should lose it but by very few.

Whiglove. I take it for granted your friends plyed the people all night with ale and brandy.

Double. That they did, and they all came bravely hot-headed next morning to the town-house. There was no dispute as to one of the gentlemen, so the contest lay between me and Mr. Oldworth. I had greased the Mayor's fist in the morning with 50 guineas, and, to do him right, he used all the foul play imaginable on my behalf; he rejected good votes from the other side, and admitted paupers to poll for me; he did brow-beat every one that came against me, countenancing all the riots that were committed by my drunken crew; but do what we could, when the books were closed, and the poll cast up, though we wrangled four hours at the scrutiny, and played 20 tricks, Mr. Oldworth had 61, and I but 59 votes.

Whiglove. So you lost it by two.

Double. By no more: I would fain have persuaded the mayor to have made a false return, and offered to deposit Bank-bills in his hand to keep him harmless: But it was a rich rogue, very timorous, and he would not venture upon it.

Whiglove. It was very unlucky to come so near and yet be disappointed.

Double. It was so, but a wise man draws something wherewith to comfort himself out of all

misfortunes that happen to him: And truly though I missed my election, it was to me an infinite consolation to behold how the people were corrupted. I was known to be a pickpocket, a gamester, a fellow of no sort of principles: my electors knew I had been concerned with the clippers when I was a receiver of the taxes, that I was grown rich out of the publick ruins, that my design of coming into the House was only to have an opportunity of selling my country; all which was made apparent to them; and yet I, an utter stranger, came within two votes of throwing out a gentleman of an unblemished reputation, a great estate, and whose ancestors have maintained an honourable port in the country for upwards of 400 years. Does not this give us a most lovely prospect? Does not this show that we have made a breach upon the honesty of the middle rank of men, and that the infection, begun higher, has spread itself into all the smaller veins of the body politick? I own it was to me an unspeakable comfort to observe such a general decay of manners and virtue in the vulgar sort; it forebodes that disorder in publick affairs, which must make room for such as I am. It is impossible to grow very rich in a virtuous country, and you see our party has increased in wealth, in proportion to our having corrupted the people in their morals.

Whiglove. I have made the same observation.

Double. If we are suffered to proceed, I doubt not but in a few years to see the multitude so corrupted, that we who have robbed the publick shall have statues erected to our honours. There were brave fellows once in the Roman Senate; Pallas the freedman and favourite of Claudius had a decree of the Senate to praise him for imitating the poverty of the ancient Romans, though it was notoriously known at the same time, that the varlet was worth
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above 2 millions of our money. If we can but have as good success in debauching the freeholders, as we have had in corrupting small boroughs, the game is our own: And we are not only safe as to our past crimes, but we may go on hereafter with impunity.

Whiglove. As soon as the election was over, I suppose you came away.

Double. No, I staid four or five days distributing money, and preparing an interest against another time; so that though I missed it, I am little less out of pocket than if I had succeeded.

Whiglove. Your disappointment was a blow to the party, the news of it put a general damp upon us; stocks fell that night 2 per cent. at Jonathan's.

Double. My friends set too high a value upon me; but that is past now, and though I could not get into St. Stephen's Chapel, I hope to do the party no less service in the Court of Requests, where you see I ply from the first sitting to the rising of the house: Take my word more is done without doors than you think of. Lie-master-general in the Court of Requests is a post of great importance: Many a question has been carried by a piece of false news invented there, and from thence conveyed to another place. Upon such emergencies I will be ready at hand with stories of all sorts and sizes concerning plots, invasions, fleets, battles, victories, and deaths of Princes, as in their turns they may serve the present purpose.

Whiglove. Indeed there lies a great deal upon you.

Double. I am besides to look after the flying squadron, and to keep all the waverers steady to our interest. I am likewise to watch that none of our pensioners or green silk pursemen neglect being upon duty: I am to sound who may probably be tempted by bribes, titles, or employments: I
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am to give reasons, good or bad, for all the unreasonable things we design to promote: But my chief business will be to run between Westminster and the city, when any great matters are depending.

Whiglove. What to tell news at Garraway's?

Double. No, but to frighten our party when things do not go as we wish they should: As for instance, when we lose a question I shall run immediately to the Exchange and cry, All is lost, we are sold to France, land is not worth 12 years purchase; for my part I intend to sell all I have in the government, tallies, stocks and exchequer bills, every thing shall go: And this I will do, though the debate should only happen to be about expelling Sir H. F——ce.

Whiglove. What do you propose by giving these alarms?

Double. O, a great deal; for thereby the strength of our side is shown: We, you know, are masters of most of the ready money, having indeed robbed the whole people of it; and when things go not to our minds, we give the word out, That every body should sell; which immediately sinks the value of stocks, tallies, and all publick funds: And though this comes merely by our own contrivance, we will impute it to a discontent in the nation to see our party discountenanced at court or in St. Stephen's Chapel. This very trick we played last year with wonderful success when the new ministers were brought into business, and it is what we intend to repeat as often as there shall be occasion.

Whiglove. And when things go to your fancy, you fall as fast a buying, which raises the market, so you stockjob the nation.

Double. Our noble friends trust me with their ready cash, and I have always a great sum of theirs in my hands, with which I can raise and fall the
stock

stocks as they think it most to the advantage of their affairs. Do you know that on the 30th of December last, a remarkable day, presently after 4 o'clock, I went and sold 20,000 pound, in bank and new East-India stock, and you cannot imagine what a rumble this made in the city, for none of the publick funds have since held up their heads?

Whiglove. But I suppose you intend to buy it in again.

Double. No, it lies all in guineas, in an iron-chest at home, and the yellow boys shall shortly have some more companions, for I mean to part with all my tallies now, while they are at par, for the sneaking rogues carry but 7 or 8 per cent. interest; and my design is to lie upon the catch with a good cash for 30 & 40 per cent. discount, which I doubt not of making so soon as our friends shall be let into the whole administration of affairs.

Whiglove. When that happy day comes, I intend immediately to sell all my land; my debts paid, it will yield me near 8000 pounds in ready money.

Double. You cannot do better; I shall think my time very ill spent, if before the war is ended, I do not treble my 50,000 pound, and you may do the same with what you have, if you will follow my directions.

Whiglove. You shall be the north star by which I will steer my course; but I wish you would be pleased to communicate to me what our party designs to do this winter, and what scheme they have formed to themselves; for I doubt not but they have let you into their whole secret.

Double. I could easily tell you what they proposed to do before the 30th of December last: If things had gone well that day, there were noble projects upon the anvil; root and branch had then been the word, but now I doubt we must begin a note lower; however,

however, none of us think of laying aside either our fury or our malice, only we must act more covertly, now we find we are not so strong as we thought we should have been. It is plain our lies and libels have not influenced the elections to such a degree as we expected, therefore we have been forced very lately to make some alterations in our measures.

Whiglove. It does not seem by the pamphlets lately published, that you propose so much as beginning with any sort of moderation. Legion is come out again more impudent and inflaming than he was last year, and the authority of the House of Commons is there attacked in a most audacious manner; which looks as if you designed to throw off your masks, and fall immediately to subverting the constitution in good earnest.

Double. No, that work must be postponed a little, till we have got firmer footing. You are to understand, that this, and some other libels of the same stamp, were calculated to the hopes our party had conceived, that men might have been found, who would have been willing and ready to betray their country, and give up all its privileges, but you see we are disappointed, we must therefore pretend at first as if we meant nothing but to secure the kingdom against France, and as if we had conceived no anger against those who have laid our cheats and robberies open to the world; but you may safely rely upon the cruelty of our natures, our side was never known to forgive; that is the weakness of those fools we have so long contended with, and depend upon it whenever we are confirmed in power, and assured of our numbers, not a man of them shall be forgotten or forgiven. Two months ago, I would not have been satisfied with less than 5 or 6 bills of attainder, and as many impeachments; but, as I told you, the case is a little altered,
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and since we are not strong enough to crush our enemies, we must seem to be for moderation.

Whiglove. Pursuant to what you say (without doors) they talk very much of a general indemnity for what is past, in order to quiet the minds of the people.

Double. I believe our party would like it well enough, for it would clearly wipe out all our former crimes and offences: the truth of it is, never man wanted a pardon more than we do, it secures us in all the thefts and rapines we have committed upon the publick, and we should all rejoice to be playing the rogue upon a new score: But how does this relish with the other side?

Whiglove. Truly, they say, That all good subjects ought humbly and gratefully to receive the marks of their Prince's goodness; but they hope to have behaved themselves so as not to stand in need of such an act of grace. They say, they have been wounded in the dark, by a crew of villains, who have accused them of being bribed by France. They pray that this matter may be brought to a publick examination, and till this right be done them, they think it will hurt their reputations, and look like guilt in them to desire that such a bill should pass. They further alledge, That when we are just entering into a new war, it would appear very strange to pardon those who have been accused in so many libels of selling the nation to the French King, and that an indemnity cannot be seasonable, which renders criminals rich and safe, and leaves the innocent highly oppressed and injured.

Double. I am sorry they see so far into the first part of our scheme; if we could get them to acquiesce in this oblivion, the moment it passes, we will out-face all mankind that we had receipts for French money, ready to produce under the hands
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of all the gentlemen that are down in the BLACK LIST, but that out of compassion we were willing they should be pardoned.

Whiglove. And considering what lies have passed for current, I doubt not but this would be swallowed among the rest.

Double. The honour the church party must needs gain by desiring, in this juncture, to rely upon nothing but their own innocence, will do them a great deal of good, and us hurt; therefore, I hope, they will take other measures.

Whiglove. But how is it like to be in the main point? What sum of money do you propose to ask? Will there such taxes be raised, as a man of industry may thrive by? Shall we see such a golden age as there was during the last war?

Double. Our party (without doors) are mightily divided upon this head. The Old Whigs, by what I can perceive, are not for 5 millions; but for my part, I had rather have no war at all, than to think of going lower; less, well managed, I know will do the business, and perhaps the nation is not able to pay near the sum for any long tract of time; but what the devil is to be got out of less than 5 millions? In a slender revenue there will be no room left to cheat the publick, and how many of our present friends do you think will stick to us, when they see there is but little to be gained? Look you, Mr. Whiglove, things will never go well unless the war feeds those who are to feed the war: All we Modern Whigs are for 5 millions, for, as a certain author says, "5 millions to be granted every year, is a brave and ample field for our ambition and avarice to range in." Out of such a sum a parcel of us may yearly get 20 or 30,000 pound a man, without being discerned; it will be no more missed, than if you should take 5 or 6 grains from
a heap

a heap of barley. Is any one so mad to imagine we shall be for pulling down the King of France, and ourselves not to be the better for it? Take my word, that foolish virtue of serving our country for nothing, is now quite out of fashion.

Whiglove. I am afraid you will fall short of your reckoning, it will be hard to get so much as you talk of.

Double. Do not think we intend to ask such a sum at first, we shall begin with them gently. In 1689, we made the state of the war for the army and navy amount to but 3,290,000 and odd pounds. In 1690, we brought it to about 4 millions. In 1691, it swelled to near 4,200,000 pound. Indeed in 1692, it was reduced to the foot of 3,600,000 pound; but then in 1693, it returned again to upwards of 4 millions. In 1694, it came to 5 millions. In 1695, there were granted 4 millions and almost 900,000 pound. In 1696, it came to upwards of 5 millions. And in 1697, it came to 4,880,000 pound. And during some of these years we asked a great deal more than was granted, which became an arrear, and is part of the debt now lying upon us, and pay it the nation must some time or other.

Whiglove. Well, if you do not ride too fast at first you may come to the end of your journey, and peradventure in a year or two get the 5 millions you aim at; but they will come hardly.

Double. Easily enough if the method our party proposes (without doors) be followed, which is, to pawn one branch after another till they have mortgaged the whole kingdom. They who take this course, neither feel nor see what they are a-doing till they are lost past redemption. Besides, this way of supplying the government is like opium, when you have taken it for some time you cannot leave it off;

off; and when the state is thus perplexed and involved in debts, the administration must of necessity be continued in our hands, for nobody else will venture to meddle with it.

Whiglove. If you can get the war put upon so high a foot, is your scheme then complete?

Double. No, we have other points of great importance to work thorough: We cannot be sufficiently revenged of our enemies, unless we unravel all the good things they have been doing for so many years. I am directed to whisper about in the Court of Requests, that the act for regulating trials of treason is such a restraint upon the prerogative, that loyal subjects ought not to endure it. I am bid to say, That the sacramental test weakens the government; and, that to preserve peace among good Christians, most of my L——ds the B——ps are now willing to give it up, though their predecessors were so foolish as to think it was the main bulwark of the church. I am likewise ordered by our noble friends to insinuate, that the act for triennial parliaments puts the country to a great deal of expence and trouble, and that it were better things should be as they were formerly, when the Prince had power to keep one and the same parliament sitting as long as he pleased: That while there was a House of Commons that had sat six years together, few were so impertinent to enquire into the proceedings of the ministers; or if they did, they were sure to be baffled: That a firm interest, such as will go through thick and thin, cannot be formed under a long tract of time.

Whiglove. Have you in charge to promote any other matter?

Double. My chief work is behind: I am commanded to possess all I discourse with, that there is an absolute necessity to establish a standing army in England,

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England, to keep under that numerous and powerful faction of the Non-jurors, though all them put together are not able to raise a single regiment. I am bid to ridicule our naval strength in all companies, and to say, That 500 men of war are not able to protect us: That the militia signifies little; and that nothing can preserve our religion and our liberties, but a great army here at home.

Whiglove. The Old Whigs will not stick to you in this point.

Double. I believe so too; however their present fears will make them join with us to raise a great force: Indeed when the war is over, perhaps they may be for disbanding, as they were last time; but I hope our party will take such care to model the army, that when it is once raised, your good patriots, as they call themselves, shall never be able to get rid of it.

Whiglove. How can that be done?

Double. A good purgation does the work: Do but cashier all the gallant gentlemen and officers now employed, who are known to love their country, and its constitution, and give their commands to foreigners and mere soldiers of fortune; and then you will have an army which not only will refuse to be disbanded, but which will raise money upon the people to pay themselves, if there should be occasion.

Whiglove. There never was such an instance of virtue and reverence to the laws as was shown by the soldiers at the end of the last war; more than 80,000 men suffered themselves to be disarmed and laid aside by 300 gentlemen in St. Stephen's Chapel, rather than subvert the fundamental constitution of their country.

Double. Therefore we must take care for the future not to employ men of the same principles: Now-a-days there are enough to be found of quite another character, whom our party can bring to do

whatever we direct them : But to say the truth, we can rely on none so much as upon some of the foreigners; though I know several of them too who are tainted, and will not join in promoting our bad designs; but they shall troop off among the rest, if we can get the army new modelled to our wishes.

Whiglove. You will never be able to compass that.

Double. Prithee what cannot we bring about by lies and slanders? If we could misrepresent a whole House of Commons, cannot we misrepresent the army? Why may not we say, That part of the 900,000 pistols, which we give out have been lately remitted hither from France, was employed to debauch the soldiers from their duty? Such a story well and impudently urged, may make it as advisable to purge the troops, as it was to dissolve the parliament.

Whiglove. Nay, I am satisfied a standing army will do you no good unless it is modelled as you would have it, you must therefore endeavour to gain that point: But since a standing army goes so much against the grain, and since it is what the Old Whigs will not come up to, why will you push at it?

Double. Considering what we have done, and what we intend to do hereafter, how can we possibly be safe without an extraordinary force to protect us? Our general scheme is to bring our party into business, that we may once more have an opportunity to rob the kingdom; and is it not direct nonsense to think of setting up for a corrupt administration, unless we can obtain such a power as may awe those who believe they have a right to enquire into our proceedings?

Whiglove. I find we have miscarried in one great design, the train would not take; we were very hot upon it just before the parliament met, all the Whig Coffee-houses rung how necessary it was to break into the acts of settlement, and to exclude——

Double.

Double. Mum, Whiglove, talk no more upon that subject I beseech you, fresh orders are issued out; and since we are not strong enough to make it go, and that on the contrary it has alarmed and provoked all sort of men, we are now directed to say, That never any such thing was intended by our party, though, God knows, it was the whole discourse of all our clubs. Under the rose, this was one of those embrio's that proved abortive upon the 30th of December last; but though it be not seasonable to stir in it now, never fear our abandoning a wicked design, we never quite lay aside any mischief; however, since it has really opened the eyes of a great many, and weakened our interest among several of our own side, whom (with grief of mind I speak it) we cannot work up to be guilty of so much injustice, let us take all occasions of declaring, that we will not violate these acts upon any account whatsoever; which we may the more safely do, because you know it is our principle, not to think that we are bound by any protestations we make, either in private or in publick; and is one of the great advantages we have over the rest of our fellow subjects, that we can fetter the consciences of others, while our own are at perfect liberty.

Whiglove. By the way, pray tell me, Are we to rejoice, or be sorry, at what happened last night at Westminster?

Double. O, you mean about rejecting the clause that was proposed to be added to the oath of abjuration; can you repeat the words?

Whiglove. Yes, I transcribed them from the paper at the Coffee-house, and they run thus; — — “ And I
“ will to the utmost of my power, support, main-
“ tain, and defend, the regal government of this
“ realm, and the constitution of parliament in King,
“ Lords and Commons, and the Church of Eng-

“ land as by law established, with liberty of conscience as it is now by law tolerated.”

Double. I do not yet know the sense of our great ones on this subject; we shall hear to-night what our noble friends will say upon it at supper: I am told that (without doors) they look upon the throwing out of this clause as a notable victory, but I wish it may not rather be a defeat; but, to give you my single opinion off hand, I think nothing could have been offered more advantageous for the dissenters than this clause; for it puts them upon a level with the church of England in our future establishment.

Whiglove. I find some of our friends mightily down in the mouth, upon the miscarriage of Fuller’s business; even Dr. Oats says, “ He is a lying rascal.” It is urged, that it must bring a great reflection upon our party, to have countenanced such a profligate and perjured villain; it has been hit in my teeth forty times in the Court of Requests: The other side cries, “ Has all your noise of French money no better foundation than Fuller’s evidence? Where is this Mr. Jones, the man of quality and great estate, who has distributed more than 180,000 pounds, by the French King’s order?” In short, I could wish we had never brought this matter upon the stage, it will be a clog upon other lies, which we may have occasion to disperse hereafter.

Double. What you say would hold, if we had any shame in us; but if this iniquity should be never so much detected, if it should be made apparent who were at the bottom of this contrivance, it should not make us blush; for things are come to that pass in England, that there is no roguery whatsoever which has not its patrons and maintainers.

Whiglove. But, seriously, do not you think it would be better for us to give this fellow up to be punished, and not to struggle as we do in his justification?

Double.

Double. You must take this for a general rule, that it cannot be advisable for us to abandon any one rogue of ours, let him be never so notorious; it is breaking a link of the great chain: And if this Fuller should be soundly whipped, as he deserves, it will not be possible for love or money to procure false witnesses, of which we may stand in need some other time.

Whiglove. It is then your opinion, I should take his part in all companies, and as I walk in the Court of Requests.

Double. Why not! when you see some of the very best of us do it. You must give out, That all he has published is as true as the Gospel, only that he is over-born by the Jacobites and French pensioners.

Whiglove. But what shall I say, when he is not able to produce his Thomas Jones, and the rest who are to corroborate his testimony?

Double. You must swear, upon your own knowledge, that there were really such men, but that you believe they have been spirited away by the Tories. Besides, I am not quite out of hopes, but that he may hatch a Jones and Inglefield, if he be suffered for any time to sit and brood over his evidence. He has three kingdoms to turn himself in, and it is hard if he cannot find out two rogues who may serve his present turn; had I leisure to make a trip over into Ireland, I could bring him forty. Look you, friend Whiglove, we must all strain a little to bring him off; for it is of more importance than is commonly imagined.

Whiglove. Indeed his books have done a great deal of service among the rabble.

Double. The novelty of them, and their superlative air of impudence, has induced all mankind to read them, and they have made a deep impression upon the vulgar, who seldom come to know the truth of

things ; they think all true which they find in print. Though there is not a man of a clearer character than the Earl of Nottingham, both as to his publick and private actions, yet, among the mob, Fuller's lies and libels will have some effect. Indeed it will be a full answer to all he has written, if, as he himself has proposed, he should be "whipped worse than Oats."

Whiglove. Are you to say any thing about restraining the press ? Some of our Old Whigs are mightily against it, and say, "It is a badge of slavery, and tending to nothing but to serve the ends of Popery and arbitrary power."

Double. There are very few points in which I agree with your Old Whigs ; can they be so simple as to desire that the press may be free, at a time when we hope all the power will be in the hands of our party ? It is true, we have got ground for the present by our libels, but we cannot long avoid being detected ; and if the other side is free to print against us, by that time we have been in the administration for a year or two, we shall be so laid open, that a Modern Whig will be ashamed to shew his face. If we intended that our actions should be honest, I grant we might suffer men to publish what they please ; but, alas, our management never did, nor ever can bear the light. Do you think it is fit the people would be told every year in print, of how much we cheat the publick ? That were a fine business indeed ! A corrupt ministry must endeavour to work in the dark as much as possible : For my part, I believe it were better for our interest, not only to restrain the press, but that there was no such thing as Printing in the kingdom ; for all right reason and good sense, absolutely make against us.

Whiglove. But having all along supported ourselves by lies, which are our foundation and chief

strength, how can we disperse our poison among the people, unless the press be open?

Double. That work may in some degree be done by word of mouth, by your agents and emissaries: But besides, supposing the press should be restrained, Will it not be easy for us who have the power of our side, so to order matters, that no notice may be taken of the libels we print, and that every thing may be suppressed, which the other side publish in their own defence? So that we shall be free to offend and wound a party that have their hands tied behind them; which is as much odds, I think, as we can wish for.

Whiglove. I will insinuate this to our Old Whigs, but am afraid it will not relish with them.

Double. It is no great matter; for I doubt this will not be the only occasion we shall have of breaking with those sort of men. We are forced to flatter them at present, but I foresee we shall be shortly compelled to stand at open defiance with them.

Whiglove. God forbid.

Double. It will be impossible to avoid it. A subdivided party, as ours is, that have different ends and designs, cannot hold long together. The Old Whigs mean honestly to their country, and are in good earnest as to a war with France, and against Popery; whereas we Modern Whigs have no aim but to do our own business. As to a war, we promote it not out of regard to the nation's honour, or its safety, but we drive it on, because it must produce high taxes, of which we hope to have the fingerings. And as to popery, can it be imagined that we who openly deride all revealed religion, are in any pain which shall be uppermost? The Old Whigs have principles, we have none; their estates are descended to them, with which they are contented; there is no end of our avarice and ambition: It suits best with

their interest to preserve the constitution ; we are not safe, unless we can destroy it. How therefore is it practicable for the Old and Modern Whigs to continue for any time well united, when they stand upon such different bottoms ?

Whiglove. It will be fatal if they should separate from us ; we have lately been upheld by nothing but their reputation ; we could never have appeared in the country, but that we were countenanced and headed by here and there a whig, who had never been upon the stage of business, and who was without spot or blemish in his character : And it is their being with us that must atone for what we have done, and shall hereafter do amiss ; we must lurk behind them, they must bear the name of doing what we secretly contrive ; we must seem to be quite out of play, and to have no hand in the management of affairs ; and it is their innocence that must protect our guilt.

Double. All this I know.

Whiglove. How then will it fare with us, if we are forsaken by the only persons of our party, who have any sort of credit with the people ?

Double. We must endeavour to corrupt them by degrees, and to lead them from one false step into another, till they are become as criminal and as odious as ourselves. You may remember how many grave Whigs we debauched soon after the Revolution. A court can work miracles. Were there better flatterers than some of the Old Republicans, whom you and I have seen not long ago in great employments ? Have you forgot the gentleman, who in Whitehall gallery, looking upon Harry the VIIIth's picture, commended that gallant Prince (as he called him) because he had with his dagger drawn, cried in the House of Commons, " Hah ! show me the member who dares speak against passing my money-bill."

“ bill.” We doubt not of making many more such converts, and if we can plunge them in our vices, it will not be hard to bring them intirely into our measures.

Whiglove. It is what we must endeavour to do.

Double. We intend it. I have known a great many deluded by pleasures and luxury to betray their country, who were not to be wrought upon by any other motives. Therefore you see one of our noble friends, who is still at the head of our designs, sets himself in good earnest to corrupt the manners of all our youth, in order to subvert the constitution: And though in truth he is no better than a *Massaniello*, he affects to imitate the conduct of *Catiline*, as he is forming the same conspiracy. He is the patron of license and disorder; his house is the school of intemperance: What lust in any of his followers does he not study to please? Women, musical entertainments, riots, and debaucheries of all kinds, are ready at hand for such as will be drawn into his party by those sort of allurements.

Whiglove. But suppose these baits should not prevail upon the Old Whigs who have mixed with you in your councils; suppose they should not join in your two main points, which are raising exorbitant taxes, and keeping up a standing army, what will you be able to do? They broke from you not long ago when they saw whither you were driving, and when you were forsaken by this squadron, your condition was but very desperate.

Double. I am satisfied that such as have been deluded by our arts will soon find us out, that we shall daily lose ground in *St. Stephen's Chapel*, and that our party can never be safe while parliaments are suffered to preserve their ancient authority. You see therefore, we make it our business to undermine it all we can, especially to render the House of Commons

mons contemptible has been the principal aim of all the pamphlets we have lately published; but we swim against the stream: Do what we can the people will return to the love of their old constitution, while they are permitted to have it in their view. If a House of Commons would connive at corrupt administration and suffer their privileges to be trod under foot, I should like them well enough; but if they will take upon them, as they have hitherto done, to save the kingdom's money, and to correct abuses, they will put a necessity upon us Modern Whigs of trying what we can do to subsist without them.

Whiglove. You will find that difficult.

Double. Not at all: If we have a war, a greater army must be raised.

Whiglove. You say true.

Double. That army must be formed, purged, and modelled, to our wishes.

Whiglove. This I grant.

Double. To maintain the war new funds must be settled, and probably for a long term of years.

Whiglove. Well, what then?

Double. You know part of the excise and customs, and several other duties appropriated to the payment of the nation's debts, yield every year a very great sum; and if a House of Commons will not permit us to plunder the kingdom with impunity, as we have hitherto done, our party must resolve to set up for themselves, which may be easily done by boldly advising to shut up the——Hark! I hear coaches stop, I must run down and receive their honours at the bottom of the stairs.

ESSAYS
UPON
PEACE AT HOME,
AND
WAR ABROAD.

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unum Populum perveniat.

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TO THE
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MADAM,

YOUR last words from the Throne, encourage me to lay a book at Your Majesty's feet, treating of that peace and union among themselves, which, in expressions so earnest and moving, You have recommended to Your people.

It is to be hoped the French King's open and secret attempts to disturb the quiet of Europe; his violent infractions of a treaty so solemn as was that of Ryſwick; the scheme he has formed to render Spain, and all its dominions, dependant upon his Empire; the steps he is making towards Universal Monarchy, and the reasonable fears his greatness ought to beget among us, will so operate, as to bring all sorts of men to throw aside their heats and animosities, and to unite in their own defence, against the common danger.

That for many years there have been parties in this kingdom is too evident; but it was what the best patriots all along deplored, though formerly the mischief was hardly to be avoided: Endeavours to keep up a great land-force in times of peace, neglect of trade, general profusion, the spoils
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some had made upon the publick, and their alienating crown-lands to an immense value, both here and in Ireland, could not but provoke them who were to feel the weight of present taxes, and of future debts.

In a free nation such conduct will ever inflame the minds of men, and incite all true lovers of their country to exert their utmost strength in its rescue. These contests to promote good government, and to carry on a bad one, divided the realm. The corruptions of the age were attacked with virtuous courage; at first by thin squadrons, whose numbers increased from time to time, till at last they were strong enough to make such a stand as prevented universal ruin: In the mean while mismanagement was supported with more warmth than perhaps was either just or decent. And these struggles were no small interruptions to your immediate predecessor in his councils, and in his business of the war.

And it is no wonder the face of the waters is not yet quite smooth; after a high storm there will remain an agitation of the waves for many hours. Ambition may be still at work, and some may yet be grasping at power, which they hope to compass by the aids and voices of their faction: But GOD has enriched Your Princely heart with such prudence, as soon discerns what most conduces to the happiness of the nations over which Your Scepter is extended.

The beginning of Your reign has shewn how desirous Your goodness is to unite all Your subjects; but if the spirit of discord is not to be appeased, if men will so little consult Your quiet, and their countries welfare, as still to keep up parties; when both sides come and contend before Solomon, waiting for the royal judgment in their favour, which side (under the regal influence) shall be the governing

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ing part, possess the authority, be the constitution, and have the living child: Your high wisdom will never think it belongs of right to them who consented to have it mangled; and that they are to be esteemed the true parents, who, though they could not enjoy it themselves, yet desired its preservation.

Your heart, intirely English, will judge with ease whose merits have been the greatest, and who are the fittest objects to be shined upon; but descended as You are from a long race of Kings, You believe it beneath Your dignity to be QUEEN of no more than half Your people; which at last becomes the case of Princes, who think to rule their dominions by the strength or interest of parties.

It is Your right to command the whole, and You have reduced the whole to Your obedience, not by the mean arts of indulging your subjects in follies, to themselves fatal, and injurious to Your power; but by governing so uprightly, and with such courage, that the good shall hereafter find it needless, and the bad see it is dangerous, to raise factions within the state.

Though there be not yet so great a calm in affairs as Your piety, Your tender regard to Your people, the constancy of Your mind, Your care and concern for the general cause of Europe, should be rewarded with, and as a Princess adorned with so many virtues and perfections, ought in reason to expect: Your reign however is like to be attended with this circumstance of felicity, That it will not be so hard to oppose the designs of corrupt and wicked men (whose measures some time ago were in a manner broken and defeated) as it may prove difficult to temper their zeal who have given repeated proofs of their right intentions to the publick.

It is not easy to allay the indignation which a continued series of misgovernment may have begotten

gotten in the thoughts of men, who, as often as necessary aids are given to Your MAJESTY, cannot but reflect how much treasure has heretofore been wasted: from hence just anger may arise; and they who have no other aims but to be well governed, may call aloud for the punishment of vices which had long kept their ground, but at last were plainly vanquished.

They who stood in the gap, and whose adhering to their principles, saved England, may expect to triumph, and peradventure to reap all the fruits of victory; but your gracious wisdom, and noble compassion to Your whole people, contemplate, That if there have been crimes, there are many partakers in the guilt; That the profusion of several millions must have enriched numbers, who are devoted to the hands by which their fortunes have been raised; That to restore such order as will bless Your reign, and make your subjects happy, must be the work of time; and that moderate courses undermine corruption, and sap its very foundations; whereas it may be so fortified as to resist any sudden batteries that are made upon it.

We are fortunate to have upon the Throne of her ancestors a Princess who can have no designs but to promote the publick good; who countenances the best patriots, leaving room for repentance to such as may be thought to have offended; and who desires in the war wherein she is embarked, to be strengthened with the hearts and hands of all her kingdoms.

It is union at home must make Your armies and Your fleets victorious abroad, and enable Your MAJESTY to hold the balance of Europe, and to protect the protestant interest, whereof You are the head. The eyes of Christendom are fixed upon Your actions and councils. In this juncture foreign nations

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nations will be inclined to judge, That a great QUEEN is not so much to consider what may please at present, as what is right and safe, and which way her fame may be established in all succeeding ages.

It is much a nobler game to be umpire abroad, in a cause which is like to engage the arms of the whole world, than to determine at home, in the low struggles between contending parties: And it is to be hoped regard to the fame and glory of their Royal Mistress, will induce the different sides to unite, that she may be the stronger by this concord, and bring all the best patriots and wise men, to look forwards, forget the past, and to approve of measures leading to moderation. That this will be the wisest course, is so far certain, that the main end of wisdom and philosophy, has been to keep passion within the bounds of reason.

In foreign alliances, steady government, wise measures, frugality in what relates to the publick, vigilance in the ministry, and union among the people, are more valued than the naval forces a state is able to set out, or than the troops it can lead into the field: For these aids are not long to be relied on, where the general administration is defective, or when there are divisions in a kingdom. And the figure YOUR MAJESTY makes in the present confederacy, is owing to Your prudence, and to the steps You have made towards healing our breaches; which work, when Your goodness has accomplished, You will have equalled in renown any of your most famous progenitors.

These measures, and the strength union must produce, will invite nations to court Your MAJESTY's alliance: and your scepter, rooted in the hearts of all Your subjects, will flourish, spread, and yield such branches, as may shelter distant

Kings and Princes from the storms French tyranny would bring upon their heads.

The treaty with Portugal, and the declaration of Savoy, are the effects of that high opinion the world has conceived of Your noble temper, supported by courage, and guided by the rules of wisdom. And, which is of infinite importance in this juncture, Your conduct at home has brought the States General, not by the influences of power, but of love, to join with England in stricter bands of friendship, to come in with their whole weight, and to embrace with more warmth than ever, the common cause of Europe.

May Your endeavours to promote the happiness of Your own people, and indeed of humankind, always prosper. May GOD, in compassion to the realms You govern, bless Your MAJESTY with long life, and perfect health. May heaven shower down its blessings upon the happy Partner of Your bed, the Prince, who has been so fortunate, as to see divided interests still center in their love and duty to his Royal Person. And may You both live together many, and many years, the illustrious patterns of conjugal affection.

I cannot give a greater proof of thinking Your MAJESTY's reign just and good, and that Your affairs are upon a right foot, than to publish this book, containing truths which a bad government could never bear. And though my former writings have been printed without a name, I shall now beg leave, with all humility, to subscribe,

M A D A M,

Your MAJESTY's most dutiful subject,

and most humble and most
obedient servant,

CHARLES D'AVENANT.

E S S A Y S
UPON
PEACE AT HOME,
AND
WAR ABROAD.

INTRODUCTION.

HE who writes upon matters of government, should use his utmost endeavours to divest himself of all kind of passion, not only because it obscures his judgment, and renders the faculties of his mind less free in their operation, but by reason that it leads him to mingle with the interests of the publick his own inclinations, which often grow so prevalent as to make him forget the duty he owes to that commonwealth of which he is a member; and guided by hatred or affection, he comes at last to forsake truth, which ought to be their only object, who take upon them, either as historians, to relate facts, or as good citizens and patriots, to handle any high question of state, or as philosophers, to correct the manners of the people.

But to allay that heat which mutual strivings has stirred up, to throw off partiality to those whom

we have constantly thought in the right, to banish resentments we bear to such as we have ever believed to be in the wrong, and, from having been long a party, to become an upright and an equal judge, is a difficult task; and yet he must undergo all this who desires to render his writings beneficial to his country.

Some perhaps will urge that in this nice juncture they only ought to treat of our affairs who have all along born a neutral mind, who have been unconcerned spectators in all those disputes which for so many years have inflamed the hearts of men, who have lifted themselves under no particular banner, and who have sat retired at home, deploring the miseries these fatal divisions must at last bring upon the kingdom.

If such men are to be found, and if they be otherways in any degree fit for an undertaking of this nature, they alone have a right to handle these points: They will come in without byass or prepossession, and, having been of neither side, they may advance what they think just, reasonable, or expedient, without being suspected of aiming to gratify their friends, or to contradict their enemies; to which censure all proposals for the publick good are liable in a divided nation.

We may venture yet further, and affirm, if there can be produced in this realm a set of persons, qualified to perform all the functions and offices of state, who have not hitherto given up their names to any faction, and who in matters of government are blank and virgin tables, that such, and none but such, ought to have the whole administration of our business; That all offices of honour and trust ought to be committed to their hands; That if possible, the people should be represented in parliament by none but such sort of men, who, neither intangled

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in old or new partialities, nor wrought upon by fresh or antient animosities, might calmly and deliberately debate and pronounce upon the intricate and difficult affairs that lie before them.

But all this is more to be wished for than expected. Where are there men of this disinterested and disengaged temper to be found? In the contagion of civil discord that has so long raged in England, who is there that remains untainted? Is not the distemper radical and epidemical? Have not these ill humours floated in the body politick from the latter end of the reign of King James the Ist, to this very day? Has not faction ranged about ever since, though in different shapes and forms? Has not one sort of frenzy (though with some lucid intervals) possessed us for near fourscore years? Have not different opinions about religious matters, or concerning government, kept us all the while at a wide and unfriendly distance one from the other? did not some of our princes, by setting up an interest opposite to that of their people, render parties and divisions in a manner necessary for the preservation of our liberties? But more particularly from the year 1678, was there not as it were a formal separation of the tribes? Did not the waters agitated by frequent storms, swell up, over-flow the banks, and come at last to divide into two mighty streams? And who is it of the people that has not in his turn been violently carried along with the strength of the one or of the other current?

That we are a divided nation is manifest enough, but it is as evident that in these intestine heats, very few can boast to have observed an exact neutrality.

If here and there a man has been so reserved as hitherto to have declared himself of neither party, look into the actions of his life, and it will generally appear, that he who has been thus unactive is rather governed by his own natural fears, than guided by

any superior wisdom that is in him; That he has not refused to meddle, out of meer honesty and virtue, and as disapproving the warmths of either side; but you will most commonly find, that he who thus sits still, while the minds and spirits of all others are in motion, does it from the lazy indifference of his temper, or out of that self-love which so strongly possesses some men, that they will suffer the whole to perish, rather than give themselves one moment of disquiet.

In the national disputes that have been so long afoot here, most men are so far from remaining neuter, that hardly any single person has preserved temper enough to offer a mediation; each man has warmly espoused his side, the paper-war has been carried on with industry, wit, and sharpness, and no method has been left unattempted to incite the passions; but to calm them, who is there that interposes?

That no writer has engaged in so good an undertaking, may peradventure proceed from this; that it is much an easier task to stir up the passions of men, than to work upon their reason; inflaming oratory, satire, and invectives, go off with another sort of relish, gain more attention, and please better, than their cold precepts whose aim it is to lay before the people what is honest, safe, and advantageous to the publick.

And the ill success with which an attempt of the like nature may be probably attended, is perhaps the cause that none have ventured to treat upon this subject. In times far less corrupt than these are, it was complained of by Valerius the dictator, how little they pleased who promoted concord; “Non placeo concordiae auctor,” of which the true ground may be, that to foment divisions is the interest of private persons; to appease them concerns
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only the general good ; and commonly they render themselves more acceptable who serve private turns, than they who have no prospect, but to serve the commonwealth.

Having for some years last past proposed to communicate, from time to time, such observations that occur to me as I shall think of service to the publick ; and believing it might not be unseasonable (at a juncture when England is engaged in a war to support the house of Austria) to say something of the right this illustrious family has to the succession of the Spanish Monarchy, I resolved to handle that subject ; being fully convinced how much this kingdom is concerned in the question, and how fatal it will be to us to suffer the house of Bourbon to fix itself in Spain : But in collecting together my materials for this work I soon found it necessary first to look at home.

For it is in vain to think of securing our religion, civil liberties, trade, foreign plantations, and our dominion of the seas, by the terror of our arms, unless some remedies can be thought on, that may cure our intestine mischiefs.

Alliances may be made with all the foresight, prudence, and circumspection imaginable ; leagues may be formed, such as may tend to assist his imperial majesty, and preserve the ballance of Europe ; fleets may be fitted out, and armies may be raised ; but all our designs and councils must be at last defeated, we shall consume ourselves to little or no purpose, and we shall never truly exert our strength, nor with full effect, unless all good patriots interpose with their utmost endeavours, to put an end to the divisions that are among us.

It seems against all natural sense, that dangers threatening from abroad, should not unite the minds of men at home. “ *Externus timor magnum concordiæ vinculum.*” And yet there are instances

innumerable of countries, upon whom no foreign force could have made any impression, which have been ruined by dividing among themselves.

If ever it imported a people to look to their own preservation, we ought to do it in this juncture; when a monarchy is forming, which if permitted to take root and be established, will soon be an overmatch for all the rest of Christendom; when Spain, which is the most profitable branch of our foreign trade, is wholly under the influence of our most inveterate enemies, and who will soon be in a capacity to supplant us in it; when the ports of Italy are in hands that will totally exclude us from all our Levant and Mediterranean traffick; when the barrier of Flanders is so thrown down, that the United Provinces must be reduced, upon every occasion, to place their security in laying their narrow territories under water, and to support themselves at such an expence as their state cannot long bear; when the Imperial house, which in conjunction with Spain was a counterpoise to France, has been oppressed and tricked out of its rights, by the corruption of the Spanish court; and lastly, when universal empire, if the project succeed, must end in forcing all men to be of one religion. By the rules of policy and reason these thoughts should bring us to be of a better temper one towards another, and to unite for the safeguard of our own, and the liberties of all Europe. And it is upon these considerations, that, before I come to handle the main question, I conceive it may be for the service of my country to paint out faction in all its colours, to show the mischiefs it produces, and to offer what, according to my poor apprehension of things, may most conduce to heal our breaches and restore peace.

And while the pens of other men are employed in defending their own side, as they call it, in accusing
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those who are not of their opinion, or in cavils and recriminations, my weak endeavours shall be shown in proposing what may help us for the future.

I should be glad some of those who pretend to be so intirely exempt from all sort of prepossession in matters that have relation to the publick, would undertake the task; but seeing they are silent, I shall, with great submission, show my thoughts upon this subject; which indeed requires much an abler hand: And if I can, in any manner, be instrumental in perswading a brave and warlike people to carry that fire abroad which consumes them at home; if I can be the means of promoting that unity, which alone can enable us to oppose the power of France; if what I shall offer can any way contribute to make us at least suspend our mutual anger, and resentments, until we are free from the fear of foreign dangers; I shall think my time well and happily employed.

Great empires, in the beginning well constituted, might be immortal but for civil dissensions. The Romans, though their commonwealth was frequently divided into factions, for a long while preserved themselves, partly by the gravity and wisdom of the Patricians, and partly by the modesty and temper of the commons: But their state was overthrown, when afterwards in their turns both sides came to take extream courses. "*Æternas esse opes Romanas nisi inter semet ipsi seditionibus sæviant, id unum venenum, eam labem civitatibus opulentis repperit, ut magna imperia mortalia essent. Diu sustentatum id malum pertim patrum consiliis, partim patientia plebis, jam ad extrema venisse.*" For extremities, mutual affronts, and injuries, beget such hatred at last, as is never to be reconciled; and must either quite subvert the state, or produce a total change of the constitution.

Nothing likewise more contributed to save that people for some ages, from the ill effects intestine discord

discord occasions, than their laying it aside, as they constantly did, whenever they were threatened by dangers from abroad; when they had any prospect of a foreign war, but much more when they had it upon their hands, all animosities, their differences with the nobility, and all questions concerning power stood for a while suspended: There are also frequent instances in their history, that in such junctures they postponed to a more quiet season, inquiries, accusations, and punishments of a high nature; and this did not only give them more strength to oppose their enemies, because the thoughts and councils of their great men were then more sedate, and of a piece, as not being diverted by domestick troubles; but these intervals, this suspension of hostilities between the clashing sides, very much conduced to qualify the heats that were among them. For men when they have had leisure to consider and to be cool, grow to have quite different thoughts and opinions in all affairs, as well private as publick, from what they had when their minds were newly agitated, and when the provocations were fresh, and recent: And in the beginnings of anger we think of nothing but revenge, without weighing its consequences, and how far we may thereby hurt ourselves; but time, among other benefits it brings with it, makes us quit passion, and hearken to the voice of reason.

In the same manner perhaps it would be happy for this nation, if the disputes that are among us, should be for a while postponed. A claim of right is very far from being lost or yielded up, because it is for the present suspended. Whoever looks over our histories, will find that the people have held to this very day such rights as they asserted in times of peace and quiet. Whereas such have been wrested from them afterwards, which they claimed and obtained at other seasons. And indeed one part of the state will always have a remaining pretension to

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what the other part seems to have extorted, at a juncture, when necessity may be thought to have forced compliance.

That the peoples representatives ought never to give up fundamentals, is beyond all dispute: Nor can they do it, because as to fundamentals, they are but the peoples trustees, and can do no act that shall bind their principals to any thing that will be to their utter destruction. But without doubt, by the rules of reason, and according to the principles of government, they have a discretionary power committed to them, to bring on or reserve to another season, any question relating to their rights and privileges; and to inquire, accuse, and punish, or to let all this sleep for a while, as they shall believe their proceedings will be most advantageous to the publick, and best suit with the posture and condition of affairs: Nor can this be interpreted receding from any point, or breaking into the constitution: For they who are the guardians of liberty, are the best judges when it is to be asserted, and when it is convenient that claims relating to it should be suspended. As they are a part of the legislative authority, they may intermit the exercise of their part as to certain points, or put it in immediate execution, as they think most conduces to the publick good: And as the sword of the legislature was chiefly instituted for their defence, against the excesses of power, so our ancient constitution seems to have made them judges, when it should be kept sheathed, and when is the proper season to have it drawn upon offenders.

And when this suspension of great claims, and these intermissions in the acts of justice happen, mankind will be so far from thinking that any right is thereby lost, that it will be deemed a mark and effect of the highest wisdom, in those who suffer one weighty affair to give place to another that is yet of
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more importance: Therefore in appearance the most prudent and safest course in these cases is to imitate the conduct of the Romans, and to take all reasonable measures that may lead to peace at home, when we are engaged in a war abroad.

Part of these discourses have been written some time, and were designed to be made publick against the meeting of that parliament which was to sit the 13th of November, 1701; and which, to the infinite grief and surprize of many, who loved and consulted their country's quiet, was dissolved upon the 11th day of the same month: But the author not being able to judge what kind of ferment this sudden dissolution might produce; and apprehending in general, from divers symptoms, that on both sides, the passions were so inflamed, as not to be capable, at that season, of listening to terms of moderation, he resolved that for the present these tracts of his should not be published.

For as it is impertinent and in vain to endeavour to appease a single man just at the moment his anger is wrought up to the extreamest pitch, and until he has had a little time to cool and recollect himself; so when the arts of wicked men have infected the whole body of a people, with mutual hatred one towards the other; when sedition is so loud, that even the voice of the laws is not to be heard; when civil discord is at the height; when parties are so animated by their leaders as to stand ready to engage, and only as it were waiting for the word to fall on, and begin the battle; it is then to no purpose to interpose with the calm precepts of philosophy, it is then fruitless and out of season to shew from precedents and examples drawn out of your own and the histories of other nations what dismal effects faction has and ever will produce. The drums and trumpets of sedition make such a noise you cannot
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be heard; you must lie by for a better opportunity; you must then raise your banks when you observe the waters begin to ebb, and that the spring-tides are over; you must give the angry parties leisure to cool; you must expect the returns of right reason; you must let honour, care of religion, sense of duty to their Prince, reverence to the laws, and affection to their country, regain that ground which is ever lost when discord rages; you must await until both sides find their errors, and until they see the dangers that are impending; you must stay until themselves grow to despise the follies and mad parts they have been acting, and until they become ashamed of the wounds which each, to get the better over the other, has in its turn given to the constitution. When all these objects have begun to make some impression on the minds of men, then is your proper time to offer to the publick the result of your reading, and observations upon so good a subject.

And though it is to be feared our breaches are still very far from being healed, yet there is at least some disposition towards a better union: The minds of men are not quite so exasperated, as they were for several months before the late King died. We have now had a little time to cool in: It is not improbable but both sides may see they made some false steps, and that having been wrought up by their mutual heats and provocations, they did things, which were neither to be justified by the rules of policy, nor prudence.

And believing foreign dangers, the mischiefs threatened from the conjunction of France and Spain, with the war we have upon our hands, may at least so far suspend the remains of former animosities, which peradventure do still subsist, as to incline both sides to hear what they have to say who are desirous to contribute their endeavours towards allaying those

those passions; and imagining this juncture to be favourable for an attempt of the like kind, he therefore now resolves to offer to the publick these essays, upon PEACE at Home, and WAR Abroad.

And I shall proceed to treat upon several points. As, Whether a good Member of the Commonwealth may remain neuter in times of faction? Whether an honest man may leave the party he is ingaged in? and, Whether a wise man should at any time whatsoever meddle in publick affairs? I shall show, That in a kingdom divided within itself, there can be neither secrecy, nor dispatch in business. That ministers of state, but more especially Princes, should use their utmost care to hinder the growth of faction, and to heal divisions. There shall be shown what sort of measures are best for great men to take when they lie under publick accusations. That misgovernment is as well redressed, by looking into things, as by accusing persons; or as by retrospective inquiries. I shall endeavour to show that factions in a kingdom are not such diseases as admit of no cure; some remedies shall be proposed, which will lead me to speak, of persuing national interest, of arbitrary power, of religion and liberty of conscience, of frugality in managing the publick treasure, of the executive power, and of ministers of state.

The design of this first part is to recommend that moderation, which though it heals a sick commonwealth but slowly, yet at last seldom fails of restoring it to perfect health.

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S E C T. I.

*The Danger of Appealing to the People from
their Representatives in Parliament.*

BEFORE I enter upon my main work, I think it absolutely requisite to examine into some doctrines which have been lately spread abroad; indeed in a more open manner than ever, unless in times when the sword of civil war was drawn: And they are; “That, in reference to the publick, the people and their representatives may have distinct rights; that the people have not devolved their whole power in government upon their representatives; that parliaments are accountable to, and to be comptrolled in all their doings by the people; that it is always lawful and often expedient, to appeal from a House of Commons to the people.”

All which notions were not conveyed about in whispers, as heretofore, but printed in books, arraigning the whole proceedings of the House of Commons, calling their undoubted privileges in question, and, as it were, appealing to the rabble from all their resolutions: And at that time license was even converted into rage. But it is to be hoped all this was private folly, or private malice; that it received no encouragement from, and was not the declared sense of any party. It was in truth strange to see some men, blind like Sampson, and like him full of revenge, pulling down pillars, though they themselves were sure to be overwhelmed, as well as others, in the ruins of the building.

But a vail should have been drawn over all this, were it not apparent that the same doctrine is still propagated; that there are still those who censure
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the majority, whenever the majority acts not according to their sentiment of things ; and who at every turn are making these appeals to the people, so destructive to the nature of our constitution ; and this not modestly, or in secret, but in loud clamours, and with all the fierce methods sedition is wont to make use of, when she aims at giving authority some mortal blow.

Heretofore the commonalty of this realm have raised tumults against the men of estates and substance ; the Barons have appeared in arms at other times, to assert their rights, some of our Princes have attempted to be above laws, and the sword of civil war has been drawn upon various pretences and occasions ; private men have frequently found fault with the management, and have attacked the ministers, who have had power enough to embroil the kingdom for a while ; and in the reign of King Charles the Ist, misgoverned zeal was carried to great extremities, however it was in favour of a House of Commons : But it would be monstrous to see one part of the people endeavouring to incite the other, to overthrow the privileges of their own representatives.

Nor does mentioning these matters contradict the design in hand of attempting to unite the minds of men, nor can it be thought a renewing of former quarrels. On the contrary, it seems evident that nothing will sooner lead to peace at home, or be more the interest of both sides, than to have these dangerous principles examined and refuted. They are sore places, or tumors in the commonwealth, which ought to be laid open, lanced, and probed ; for if they are suffered to fester and corrupt, they must produce inflammations ; which perhaps shall turn to such a gangreen, as may at last threaten the very being and life of the body politick.

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The harmony that is to make England subsist and flourish, must have its rise from a due respect, and obedience to be paid by the whole people, to that authority with which the laws have vested the different parts that compose this government: As first the Prince, who is head of the republick; then the two pillars supporting the royal dignity, which are the House of Lords, and House of Commons. When by the arts of wicked men the multitude are brought to slight the regal power, in a little time sedition begins, and civil war follows; and our histories are full of such popular commotions. In the last age the multitude were incited against the House of Lords, and they were excluded from their seats in parliament; and as soon as this was done, the sceptre was wrested from the Prince. The instance is indeed new among us, of the people being stirred up to lop off the other branch of the constitution, by trampling upon the rights and privileges of a House of Commons. But it will not be difficult to foretel, what would be the consequence of such an attempt, if ever it should prevail; it must either terminate in the absolute rule and tyranny of a single person, or it must end in anarchy, or the wild dominion of a rabble.

As all the constituent parts, aggregately considered, ought to have their due weight, so no one part is to invade the others rights, much less to join itself with any who are attempting such invasions: When they respect one another, they become awful to the people, whom they ought to lead, and not to follow: Where there is this agreement in all the parts, the state is sound and perfect, and can act at home or abroad, with strength and vigour: But when they clash, every thing must stand still; the executive power remains impotent, and unregarded; there is a kind of break or chasm in govern-

ment, and first one wheel of the great engine stops, and then another, till the whole is out of order.

However it has been often seen that a King has differed, sometimes with the Lords, and sometimes with the Commons; there have been likewise disagreements of a high nature, and carried on with much warmth, between the two Houses of parliament, and yet the publick peace was not disturbed; all ended calmly, and those breaches were soon healed; but this happened in ages when our ancestors were so wise, as not to appeal to the people in these disputes, and not to let them mingle in the quarrel.

In the same manner there may be divisions in the kingdom; men may differ about civil or religious matters, and have various thoughts concerning government; parties may thereupon grow up, and mutual heats arise, and yet the commonwealth may remain unwounded in the vitals, and in no immediate danger; but discord grows then fatal, and can hardly conclude without a civil war, when a strong faction is formed against any one part of the constitution, be it the Prince, House of Lords, or House of Commons.

What other intention could some men have, but to raise up a faction that should be strong enough to pull down one of the estates of parliament? when in pamphlets hardly to be numbered, and dispersed round the nation, they accused the House of Commons, that was dissolved in 1701, as not mindful of their King's honour, as being in the French interest, as wanting affection to their native country, and zeal for its religion, and as not intending to do what was needful for the kingdom's safety. Nor were these invectives levelled only against single persons, but the proceedings of the whole collective body were censured; their power was also questioned,

and the multitude were, in a manner, called upon to assume to themselves the whole administration of affairs; at least to wrest from their representatives that part of government they held. It is true, they who might have had these bad intentions, did not find sufficient of bad matter to work upon; for the people were wiser than to pull down their own fences; but the unthinking rabble were brought very near some such attempt; and that the sword was not then drawn, will perhaps be thought a wonder in future ages.

And the boldness of these incendiaries was the more astonishing, because at the time I am speaking of, all things went on smoothly between the King and his House of Commons: They did what he desired, as to the supplies and the alliances; and he thanked them from time to time, for their labours in the publick service. But now and then there is a real clashing. The Prince may think his prerogatives struck at, or the guardians of our civil rights may think their liberties invaded; but how dangerous it is to make the multitude judges in these disputes, will appear to those who consider the reign of King Charles Ist. In the messages and declarations he published, he appealed to the people; the House of Commons in their answers and remonstrances did the same; and what did all this end in, but giving the rabble such head, so much power and strength, that the King was deposed and put to death? Not long after, the doors of St. Stephen's Chapel were shut up, and for a while the sword was the only law we had.

The art of governing is to rule the many by a few; but when the many are suffered to sway, direct, and lead the few, which way they please, it is quite returning into the wild state of nature, and giving to force that empire and dominion, which reason and wisdom ought to have.

Nothing could be of more dangerous consequence, than to establish, that in reference to the publick, the people of England and their representatives have distinct rights. The Prince is head of the commonwealth, and has his prerogatives: the Lords spiritual and temporal have their separate privileges: The House of Commons have their rights: And these all together are what some have stiled the three estates of parliament. But to set up a fourth estate, consisting of the people, with distinct rights, and to leave the other three remaining, would be a strange sort of government, resembling none of the models Aristotle describes to us. Which part of the constitution was to be subordinate to this fourth estate? Their representatives only? This would hardly have proved the case; for we all have seen by experience, that when the people get the power, they soon lay aside both King and Lords; and if they fall into the hands of a tyrant (which generally happens to be their condition who depart from their old and true establishment) that tyrant will not long let them have a House of Commons freely chosen.

The rights and privileges of the House of Commons, are the peoples rights and privileges; but transferred and passed over, from the persons electing to the persons elected. It is true, the people may have a right to give instructions to their members; but these are not such dictates, as their members must not depart from; for when they enter into the House, they are not so much to pursue the interest of this or that borough, as to promote the general interest of England: As indeed when they are assembled all together, not properly representing their respective counties and corporations, but representing the whole kingdom.

The members likewise, in new and important matters, may have recourse to, and consult their

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principals or electors; but there is nothing to be produced in the original form of our government, or from its modern practice, that compels them to it. Among these writers one tells us indeed, "That
" anciently the Achæians and Ætolians did, and
" now the United Provinces of the Netherlands,
" and the Cantons of Switzerland, do transact all
" things relating to their associations, by dele-
" gates; but that it would be improper to reckon
" these people free, without supposing that the
" power committed to their trustees remained still
" in them." But what is this to our case? It is notorious the states of Achæia and Ætolia were composed of cities and provinces confederated together in force and council, for their common welfare; but still remaining sovereign within their respective precincts and jurisdictions: And to speak properly, the particular members whereof such assemblies were made up, were rather the legates or ambassadors from these several people, than their representatives: And being vested with a trust delegated by an authority sovereign within itself, and over them, no doubt they had but a limited commission to assent or dissent in framing new laws to bind the whole, in making war or peace, and raising taxes, and in all these points they were obliged to consult their principals, and to follow their instructions. And this is the form of government in the Netherlands, the Switz Cantons, and among the Grisons. But can any man in his right senses say this is or ever was our constitution? Do any of our boroughs, cities, or counties, remain sovereign and independent commonwealths within themselves, only confederated with the whole for mutual defence, and by consent? Is there any supreme authority among us, but that of the Prince, at the head of both Houses of parliament? Is not the ultimate power

lodged with them, and have not the laws placed the last resort there ?

Where-ever the last resort or appeal lies, there is the sovereignty ; and if among us the people have a right to it, then are we a democracy, and not a kingly government.

To pretend that the people have distinct powers or rights not included in, or indeed above the privileges of those who represent them, is a doctrine as dangerous to publick peace, as it would be absurd and impossible in the practice. And to appeal from their representatives to the multitude, is setting the ax to the very root of this constitution. But those libels appealed to them with a vengeance, which not content to find fault with what this or that member of the House of Commons did, endeavoured, with the utmost malice and virulence, to bring that part of the legislative authority into contempt and hatred. When the commonalty have once made their choice, their whole power is devolved and delegated ; and whether their representatives do well or ill, their Princes only are to judge ; who by the prerogative they have to call them together and dissolve them, as they and their council shall think expedient, can rectify any material error in their proceedings.

It was the wisdom of the Gothic models, to contract multitudes into a small number, by which they might be represented, to avoid that confusion which must certainly arise in great popular assemblies ; but when, upon all occasions, you make the intire body of the people judges of what their representatives are doing, or have done, and when the vulgar is perpetually called upon, and incited to censure their proceedings, you run into that disorder your ancestors endeavoured to prevent.

It is dangerous even in pure democracies to leave too much to the judgment of the common people ;
therefore

therefore Harrington, Sidney, and all the best of the republican writers, say, That in a well-formed government the people are to have no more power than to assent or dissent. If to commit too much to them be of dangerous consequence, and not to be tolerated in a democracy, it must certainly be unsafe in a kingly government, limited as ours is; where each constituent part has its distinct rights and privileges, which are all lost, when by constant appealing to the rabble, they are constituted supreme judges over the whole.

They who in their books took upon them to censure the intire conduct of a House of Commons, to prescribe to them when and in what measure supplies were to be granted, to charge them with want of duty to their Prince, and to arraign them as having neglected the nation's interest and safety: they who pretended to determine as to their power and authority, and to call in question the privileges they have so long exercised, and ever claimed: they who equally pronounced against their deliberative, and judicial proceedings: they who took such pains to expose all their debates and resolutions, with the most malicious remarks they could possibly devise; what other meaning could they have in the appeals they thus made in such a publick manner to the people, but to submit every thing to their debating? and to leave to their giddy judgments the supreme decision in all the important affairs of state, whereby they would quite have changed our antient government, and have reduced it from a form well and wisely established, to a mere anarchy, which is the corruption of democracy.

Whatever party has the upper-hand, and is trusted with the principal administration of affairs, the realm may possibly subsist. One side may peradventure be less selfish, less greedy, less designing,

and have more temper than the other: however, government itself may go on, though the ministerial part of it may not be in such hands as this or that side desire. But if we once come to lose the distinguishing mark which makes us happy above the rest of nations, if the boundaries are removed, if the constitution is altered, and parliaments are laid aside, or their authority weakened; we are no longer a free country, and that building and right model is thrown down, which our ancestors at the expence of so much blood and treasure have erected.

They who broached this doctrine that the people have not devolved their whole power in government to their representatives, and that a House of Commons is, from time to time, to receive dictates from the multitude, would have set up a strange sort of liberty, in which neither the senate, the magistrates, the laws, the manners, nor the institutions of their fathers were to be regarded: “*Ea demum Romæ libertas est, non senatum, non magistratus, non leges, non mores majorum, non instituta patrum vereri.*” But these new politicians had not perhaps sufficiently considered, that liberty is equally unsafe where parliaments are to be frightened and influenced by popular clamours, as where they are to be corrupted by the ministers.

What could they who advanced these notions intend else than quite to have abolished their use, when they endeavoured to divest them of their privileges, and when they would not have left them so much authority, as might have sufficed to preserve them from being insulted by the meanest of the people?

Most certainly they did not consider how miserable a nation must be where parliaments are brought to make such a figure, and to be without weight, slighted, despised, safely trampled upon, and affronted

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fronted with impunity. It is not the name of a House of Commons that makes a nation free, but their efficacy, power, and authority, and the respect and reverence their consultations and proceedings meet with. But where all this is taken from them, the subjects are in a worse condition, than if they were governed by the sword. For where there is nothing but the appearances of freedom left, the severest bondage is intended: "*Quantoque majore libertatis imagine tegebantur tanto eruptura ad infensius servitium.*"

The guardians of liberty have ever been held in the highest veneration. He who injured the tribunes of the people, his head was devoted and accursed, and what he had was forfeited. "*Qui tribunis plebis nocuisset, ejus caput Jovi sacrum esset; familia ad Ædem Cereris, liberis liberæque venum irent.*" If this magistracy was inviolable, which was established to defend the Plebeians against the power of the Patricians; with as much reason ought that body to be had in high reverence, which is such an essential part of our government, and by which the whole people are represented.

Whenever the case happens that a House of Commons shall either be frightened by an army, or corrupted by the intrigues of a court; or be influenced and awed by a multitude, to go out of their old ways; and in material points to quit their regular and ancient course of proceedings; and when at any time they shall be brought to give up fundamentals; the constitution will be so lost that it will be utterly impossible to recover it at another season.

But here it may be objected, Was it not in a manner quite changed in the parliaments of the 20th, and 21st, Richard IIId? Was it not then obtained, That the whole clergy should be represented in parliament by one proxy, and he a layman, and this

this at a time when the clergy were great assertors of publick liberty, Rot. Parl. 21 Rich. II. n° 9? Was not a commission, and a statute thereupon made the 11th of that reign, repealed, "As having been made traitrouly by constraint and compulsion against the King's will, his royalty, crown, and dignity?" Rot. ibid. n°. 10. Was it not then endeavoured to establish iniquity forever, by imposing an oath or new test to bind the consciences of men, making them swear not to repeal, nor suffer to be repealed, what had been done and established in that parliament? Rot. ibid. n°. 38. And that there might be a good precedent of impunity for future crimes, did they not make void the attainders of the two Spencers? Rot. ibid. n°. 55. And to complete all, the last day of the sessions was not an act made to devolve the Legislature for a time upon private persons? Rot. ibid. n°. 74, 80. Was not all this done, and did not all these motions come from a House of Commons, packed, awed, and corrupted? And besides, Were not all the irregular steps made that could almost be thought on? And yet though these wounds were given to the constitution, it had then such a stock of vigour as soon to heal again. This design against the state did hurt it but for a short time, its contrivers perished, and the commonwealth was in two years restored to all her former strength.

But the case is now very far from being the same. The body politick has not at present a spring of inward health, sufficient to resist and overcome attacks of this nature made upon it. It is old, decayed, and worn out; we are in a manner quite departed from our original institution, and the Gothic model is become so defaced and altered, that it is hardly to be known. Heretofore the Prince's strength depended upon his own vassals and

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and tenants, who could not easily be brought to hurt the publick ; or who at least could not be long persuaded to entertain mischievous thoughts against it. Formerly the spiritual and temporal Barons had vast estates, and great dependencies ; and there was hardly a time in which three or four of them were not strong enough of themselves to oppose any invasion made upon the nation's rights. The Barons had the largest share of property, and by consequence of power, and therefore were such bulwarks to liberty, that it could not be well over-run : So that what attempts in past ages have been made against it, were short lived and soon defeated ; whereas now the balance is quite altered, property is elsewhere centered, and if they who have this property should agree to give up liberty, who is there to defend it ?

And look upon the Gothic institutions round about us ; for example, France, Spain, Denmark, and Sweden, you will find that the Barons first had the property, a great part of which in process of time devolved upon the Commons ; and that all these nations continued free till the Commons themselves came to surrender their own liberties, either actively or passively ; but when this was once done, their nobles and great men were never afterwards in a condition to oppose the growth and progress of arbitrary government in these respective kingdoms.

Most certain it is, that as matters now stand here, as the establishment is changed from its original, and as property and power is now fixed, liberty once lost is hardly to be retrieved ; because upon the present foot of things, and all circumstances considered, there are none who can so well protect the people in their civil rights, as their own representatives. If therefore the House of Commons is made contemptible, if their authority is weakened,

weakened, if their privileges are suffered to be invaded by seditious rabbles, incited by malecontents; if at every turn they are driven upon such a precipice by hot and hair-brained men, that either the state must be disturbed, or they must depart from fundamentals; and if the fences and out-works are thus thrown down, it will be utterly impossible to maintain the citadel, the strong hold, keep, and last refuge, upon which we have depended for these last ages: and in a few years we must expect to be in no better a condition, than all the rest of our unhappy neighbours.

But it is to be hoped that in no future times any man will be so swayed by anger, revenge, or inclination to this or that person, nor let his partiality to what faction soever so mislead him as to be thereby persuaded to enter into measures that may be destructive to the constitution; whoever reflects seriously, will find it a very difficult business to wrest from the whole body of the gentry, privileges they have long enjoyed; for deriving power from property, as certainly they do, they must be divested of their property before they can be deprived of their power. And it is observable that in all states where an aristocracy made one part of the government, the Commons as they increased in riches, ever got ground upon the nobles; and so it was in Rome, where as often as the Plebeians struggled with the nobility, they still were found to get more by that time the difference was fully ended, than at first they thought of asking. And the Commons, when they are compelled by injuries to consider of exerting themselves, have a strength so superior to that of the aristocratical part of the constitution, that it must be ever prudent to avoid all occasions of wrestling with them; because these contentions, in which they seldom fail of prevailing at the long run,

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bring them to be so well acquainted with their own force, that they come at last to demand, and actually to obtain more than peradventure well consists with the preservation of the balance.

In handling this point the author hopes he has himself observed that moderation which he recommends to others, though it be difficult enough for a man not to run into some warmth, when he reflects upon what was doing in this kingdom from the 8th of May, 1701, (which day may be justly deemed the epoche of these disorders) and when he contemplates the strange licence of the press for several months, and how much the audacious attempts then made upon the publick were winked at, if not encouraged.

Perhaps in a free country it was neither right, nor safe, so to restrain the tongues and pens of men, as that the actions of private persons might not be examined, in order to publick censure. The liberty of the press is peradventure some kind of check upon vice, corruption, and misgovernment: libels hurt innocent and good men very little in their reputation; and indeed they are dreaded by none, but such who are conscious of some secret guilt, which they would not have come to light: therefore there can be no great danger to let wit work upon its proper objects.

If any man betrayed his country, if he touched foreign money, or if he were bribed at home; if he held treacherous intelligences; it was fit and just he should be detected, and exposed. They upon whom these crimes were wrongfully charged, though they might be clouded for a brief space of time, their innocence was sure to shine out soon, and be visible to the whole world: besides, these fallies of the brain were the smallest persecutions which truth and virtue might expect to meet with;
and

and as good men thereby received no real injury, it was no matter what became of those who were rightfully accused ; and it was no harm, if the pens and voices of all mankind pursued them till they were brought to justice.

While men employed their talents this way, they could not prejudice the publick. If they wronged the innocent, they only brought confusion upon their own heads at last ; if they detected the guilty, they deserved thanks. But our late divisions did produce writers of another sort, who, not contented to find fault with those they did not like, struck at fundamentals ; and were not so angry with private persons, as they seemed to be with parliaments in general. And it was against such, that the laws ought to have been pointed with all their rigour.

However, though these libels raised so high a ferment, as brought the body politick into a raging and malignant fever ; yet it had still one favourable prognostick, marking that the disease was not mortal ; which was, that the very persons preserved most temper, who had received the highest provocations.

It is to be hoped, notwithstanding the attempts desperate and designing men may have made to disturb their country, that the generality will concur in this point, neither side to do any thing that may blast or wound the constitution ; if that remains untainted, all disputes of what nature soever may come to have a quiet issue : and as to maintain the safety and honour of the publick, and the strength and dignity of the laws, is the common interest of both parties ; so it ought to be the principal object of their care.

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S E C T. II.

*Whether a good Member of the Common-wealth
may remain Neuter in times of Faction?
And of Faction in general.*

IT has been long a question, whether a good citizen and a virtuous man, is to be allowed to withdraw himself in times of danger, and whether he may quit the business of the commonwealth, and meddle neither way, when civil discord rages, and when his fellow-citizens are divided into strong and powerful factions? That he ought to use his utmost endeavours to calm these tumults; That he should be an active mediator to reconcile differences; That he should bend all his faculties to reduce the people to their senses, and to persuade them to sacrifice to their country's safety, resentments of any kind whatsoever, is beyond dispute: but if this cannot be compassed; if their passions are wound up to such a pitch, as to be incapable, for a while, of listening to the dictates of reason; if their minds are so ulcerated as not to bear the application of present remedies, is a just man, and a good patriot, to get out of the storm, and to join himself with neither of the contending parties?

Solon the Athenian seems to have given a full decision in this weighty point, when he made a law which noted with infamy, such as in any civil sedition pretended to stand neuter; whereby Plutarch says he designed, That private men should not so regard their own affairs, and the security of their own persons, as to abandon their concern and passion for the publick; nor think it wise caution not to participate in the miseries and misfortunes of their country; but that rather in the beginning of the
sedition,

sedition, they should declare for those whom they conceived to have the justest cause; and to help that side, and to run the same fortune with them; and not to wait an opportunity of joining without danger, with the party that should remain victorious.

These were some inducements for the framing such a law. But our philosopher might proceed upon other motives; perhaps he thought, that when the minds of the common people were under any violent ferment, such as produces popular tumults and divisions, they were not to be trusted with themselves; that good men should then stay and mingle in their councils, and not leave them to their own giddy conduct, or to be headed by those who may have an interest to bring them into further mischief and disorder; and peradventure he judged that while factions are forming, or when they are formed, the few who are honest and wise, could not be able to make a third party, strong enough to oppose and suppress the madness and folly of the other two: That therefore it was better they should join with the one or with the other side, as their judgments, or their inclinations (which in these cases will in some measure sway the judgment) should lead them.

No doubt there is nothing so false, so jealous, so imposing, and so unreasonable as all parties are, when they come to be wrought up to any height; and it is to be presumed they give hourly distaste to the men of worth, whom choice or accident has linked with them; but to bear all this is a debt they owe the publick: For if the best men should so consult their own quiet, as to quit the service of their country because it happens to be divided, they deliver over the administration of affairs to hands that will never seek its peace.

When wise and honest men are not strong enough (as they seldom are in any nation) to withstand and

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break the madness or folly of the people, they must go along with them, and lead those whom they cannot drive, lest they commit themselves to more designing and worse guides: And this conduct is warranted from precedents even in the most virtuous times of Rome; many there are, I shall cite here one only: Sextus Tullius, a Roman officer, famous for his exploits, and strictly obedient to military discipline, did once put himself at the head of the soldiers in a mutiny of the camp; and being asked by Sulpicius the Dictator, how he that was so good a man should come to join in such counsels? answered, he headed the camp that a more dangerous man might not undertake the business. “Tulliumque secreto, quænam hæc res sit, aut quo acta more, percunctatur. Tullius magnopere a dictatore petere, ne se oblitum disciplinæ militaris, ne sui, neve Imperatoriæ Majestatis, crederet: Multitudini concitatae, quæ ferme auctoribus similis esset, non subtraxisse se ducem; ne quis alius, quales mota creare multitudo soleret, existeret.”

Impending dangers, want, or too much wealth; oppression, corruption in the ministry, ill conduct in the state, and ambition in the great ones, have in all ages, and will now and then produce factions in a country; nor perhaps is liberty safe in a perpetual calm. There never was a country whose peace contending parties have not now and then disturbed, and this opposition has sometimes contributed to the preservation of its liberties. In Rome, without doubt, they were called a faction who retired to the sacred mountain by reason of their debts, occasioned by the intolerable usury and extortion of the patricians. They probably were branded also with the same mark of distinction who made a second secession to Mount Aventine, when the decemvirs were

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establishing their tyranny, and when the tribunician magistracy, and the benefit of appealing, had been wrested from the people. It was likewise called faction and sedition when the commons so warmly insisted upon liberty of intermarriage with the patrician families, and to participate with them in the highest dignities of the commonwealth; both which they obtained at last. It is plain while these conflicts lasted the minds of men stood very much divided, as well in the forum as in the capitol; some declaring for the peoples rights, others being of the senatorian party. But had not the Romans degenerated into an impotent aristocracy but for these frequent disputes for power which did arise between the people and the Senate?

Nor do these discords absolutely interrupt the right harmony of government, unless they happen in times when the main body and mass of the people is corrupted: For if they are not quite debauched by bad examples from those above them, if they are not thoroughly poisoned by the wicked arts of great men, if there remains in them any sense of virtue or affection to their country; however inflamed their thoughts may be, and let them seem to be possessed with passions never so violent, they are to be calmed, and easily reduced to terms of reason; and as soon as their fury is abated, they return to give proofs of their modesty and greatness of mind; as the Roman people did, who after the high disputes we have here instanced for plebeian authority, and when they had gained the point, rejected their own candidates, and chose all the military tribunes from among the nobles. Nor until they are utterly depraved, do they want a true insight into their aims and designs who pretend to be their heads and leaders. They discern well enough who they are that stir them up, and promote popular things only
to,

to gratify their own ambitious ends; and who it is that desires no more but to awaken them to look after their own interest and safety: Thus when several laws were offered at a general assembly of the Romans, by their own tribunes; some they ratified, others they refused: “*Apparuit quæ ex promulgatis plebi, quæ latoribus gratoria essent nam de fœnore atque Agro rogationes jubebant, de plebeio consulatu antiquabant.*” That is, the first of those laws was for the peoples good, the last was set afoot by Sextius, and Licinius, only to make themselves, who were plebeians, capable of being Consuls.

But if the people have been long under the discipline of wicked and designing men, if they have been for any time inured to faction, if it be suffered to become a habit in them, they begin to lose the faculties they had of judging between right and wrong: the gate reason was wont to enter in at is barred up, but all sort of wild passions have free entrance. All care and consideration of the publick is abandoned; they examine no more whether such or such a thing is advantageous, or hurtful to the commonwealth, but each side looks singly upon what seems to make for them, and for their present interest. Will the rules of prudence bear us out in persuing such a measure? Is such a council just or honest? Will it not be attended with fatal consequences? All this is no longer balanced where parties are grown violent. Will proceeding this or that way make us stronger, though but for a moment? Shall we be thus and thus superior in the debate? Will advancing this or that proposition, true or false it matters not, carry the question? Will this best captivate the vulgar? Will this serve the immediate turn? Will this most conduce to carry on the main design? Is not the juncture such that it is more requisite we should prevail, than truth itself to get the upperhand?

When we are thus pressed ourselves, is it seasonable to consider of the publick good? What will best please our heads and leaders, and most gratify them, and best tend to embroil, or disappoint the adverse side? Let us stick to that, whatever mischief it brings to the commonwealth. Has the adversary offered what is right and fit? We must oppose it, and not yield to them in any point. Have we advanced what is unsafe and wrong? Let us push it on; it is always dangerous for a party to be baffled. Thus when a country has been long divided into two powerful factions, and when their mutual anger is become inveterate, both sides in their turns take measures, and give into councils equally destructive to the publick: So it was in Rome, where the civil dissensions between the plebeians and the nobles lasted, with very short intermissions, to the days of Cæsar; while the great ones led the people blindly on to certain ruin. Both sides covered their designs with pretence for the publick good, but each side in their turns sacrificed the publick to their own ambition. If any of either party did arise who desired to be the authors of peace and concord between their fellow-citizens, they were not regarded; for affairs were brought to that pass, that men did not so much weigh the business proposed, as they considered from which side it came. They did not ask, Is the matter right or wrong that was offered by Cæsar or by Pompey's friends? but the single question grew at last, Was it promoted by Cæsar or by Pompey? And to the side their affections led them, thither they made their subjected reason follow; until at length, in the struggle for power, they lost their liberties.

Whoever joins himself in the beginning to a party, with any other intention than to moderate, as much as in him lies, the heats he shall find among them,
and

and to calm their passions, and to take all opportunities of reducing both sides, as fast as he can, to terms of union and concord; whoever does not object to his own side when they are in the wrong, and strive to enforce whatever comes from the others when they are in the right; whoever does not give a fair example of himself, which may recommend him for his temper, probity, and justice, in order to obtain such power and credit with the people, as may keep out, and hinder bad men from being their heads and advisers. And lastly, whoever continues in a party with any other meaning than to use his best endeavours, as soon as he can, to bring both sides to embrace the true profit, honour, and safety of the publick; if this be not his only end and aim, he is not an honest man nor a good patriot: And whatever shape he puts on, be it zeal for his prince, or let him pretend a care of the peoples rights, if he does not strive to heal breaches, if he lets the wounds widen or fester, his designs at bottom are wicked and corrupt; and he pursues the game of his own interest or ambition, and helps on the ruin of his country.

For supposing the persons who are the heads and leaders of parties to be adorned with all kind of virtues, which they seldom are, and granting them to have all sort of good intentions towards the publick, which happens rarely to be the case, yet faction itself (abstracted from the ill use the great ones make of it to serve their own turns) is in its nature pernicious; and produces more fatal mischiefs than foreign war, sickness, famine, or any other evil the anger of heaven brings down upon us:

“Factiones, quæ fuere, eruntque pluribus populis
“magis exitio, quam bella externa, quam fames,
“morbive, quæque alia in deum iras, velut ultima
“publicorum malorum vertunt.” It ought there-

fore to be the concern of every private man, to put as quick an end as possible to what is so destructive to the whole.

But when a nation is divided, many things lie in the way of peace. While the factions repute themselves equal in power and force, pride will not suffer them to shake hands for their common preservation: if one party gets any notable advantage, the defeated side does not lose courage and think of yielding; on the contrary, sedition is then fortified with council: They try to fight with other arms; they hope diligence will make up for what they want in real strength; they intrench, keep strict watch, and are ready to sally out and surprize their enemies whom conquest renders secure and careless; but most commonly they expect to fall upon them while they are quarrelling among one another, about dividing that booty which happens to become the prey of one, and for which both sides contended with such fury.

Besides, the heads and leaders in both factions are generally against reconciling national differences: They think peace and union put them too much upon a level with their fellow subjects; they are loath to descend, though but a step or two; a quiet and private life seems irksome to them who have been all along at the top of business; they are unwilling to lose their dependencies, and perhaps they apprehend that the high opinion conceived of their parts, abilities, and worth, will abate when it is no longer cryed up by the voices of their partial followers.

These or the like considerations have induced many great men to foment divisions, which by their authority with the people, they might for ever have appeased. But ambition has not ears to hear, nor eyes to see any thing but the object that immediately

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flatters its sight; for if otherwise there is certainly no condition of life which ought not to be preferred to that of being the head of any party; whose levity and indiscretions, whose folly and madness, will give a wise man eternal matter of aversion, or discontent.

Besides, whoever rightly contemplates the nature of those numbers who compose a party, will find they are not to be depended upon. That favour of the vulgar which the best man has been endeavouring, for many years, to obtain by a constant course of virtue, may be lost in a moment, if he contradicts their immediate passions; and he may obtain it who has all along trod in vitious steps, if he happens to gratify their present humour: And as to those who seem to have had their greatest favour, and to have carried them which way they pleased; all things duly weighed, it appears that they were rather led by, than that they led the people. And so it fared in Rome with the Tribunes, popular magistrates who were thought to rule the plebeians, but indeed were compelled to follow all excesses of the multitude: "*Tribuni ut fere semper reguntur à* "*multitudine magis quam regunt.*" It is true, the beginning of a civil dissention is calmer and more innocent than its further progress, or than when it comes to its full height; for then reason sometimes is heard, and those who are called the heads have what looks like authority and power; but at last they are hearkened to no more; and when faction grows strong they must go with the tide, and be contented to be their slaves whom they hoped to govern, that in common estimation they may be thought still to hold the reins, and to guide the unruly steed, which in truth runs away with them.

It has happened rarely to be the case, that they who have headed popular factions have had them

intirely under their obedience, so as that they could lead them to good or bad, just as they pleased. Fortune has indeed placed some men so much above the rest of human kind; early victories, the opinion conceived of their valour, or their wisdom, has given to some persons such authority, that with a nod they could have appeased those seditions and tumults, which their ambition did at first produce. As for example; Cæsar and Pompey had such an interest with their followers, all their partakers yielded so to their superior merit, that they had it in their power to have hindered the world from being slaves to the will of a single person. They could have left mankind free, if they had taken half that pains to restore the commonwealth, as they did to subvert it: For though the people were grown so corrupt as to be ripe for bondage, though their appetites were so vitiated by long civil contests that they did not relish the sweets of liberty; yet these two great men, if their inclinations had been intirely virtuous, could have saved their country. For though perhaps the minds of the people were then too much exasperated to be capable of perswasion, or to hearken to peace and concord, and so depraved as to abhor sound and wholesome government, yet force could have reduced them to terms of reason; that power which overthrew the state, might have been made use of in its rescue. Nor let what is here advanced seem strange; for the sword has modelled many admirable constitutions, when it is happened to be in the hands of some men of perfect and consummate virtue, such as was Lycurgus, who by force introduced the laws of Sparta. In the same manner, Pompey and Cæsar could have compelled their citizens to have cast off their hostile fury; the terror of their arms would have frightened the
disturbers.

disturbers of the state; their sharp swords might have cut up faction by the root, or they might have fallen to work with the hammer of war, and have forged a government intirely new, if they had thought the old one so defaced, altered, and decayed, as never to be mended. It was in their power, either to have established the commonwealth upon its ancient foot, or to have formed another without those imperfections in it which helped to destroy the former.

But accidents seldom concur to give the heads of any faction such an interest as Pompey and Cæsar had with their dependents: The world indeed hardly ever produces persons adorned with the qualities and perfections that shined in them, contrived as it were by nature to captivate the hearts of men. And though these might have perswaded their followers to have embraced what was good, as well as they induced them to give into councils pernicious to the publick, it is not so with others who pretend to be leaders of the people in a divided country.

It is easy to blow the coals of discord; it is not difficult to inflame a nation; and we have frequent instances in story of men who had nothing but the appearances of worth with false virtue, false parts, and false eloquence, who yet became so popular that they were able to disturb their country's peace; but then they could not allay the storm which they themselves had raised: For they must be very powerful who can say to their party, So far you shall go, and no farther. And to appease troubles, to reconcile differences, to heal wounds that have been long rankled, to calm the people when their minds are under a violent agitation, and to work order out of confusion, requires a genius much above the common level.

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No man therefore should keep up and foment divisions out of an opinion he can put an end to them when he pleases; the business soon grows too big for him, and he will find he cannot quench the fire he himself kindled, when it has reached further matter: besides, discord seldom ends in the point where it first began; fresh subject of dissention still arises among those who are already disposed to hate or envy one another; and at last new persons come to have the power, as being thought more willing or more able to carry on the work in hand; so that instead of continuing to command, they grow in length of time to be but neglected members in it, who were the authors and beginners of the faction.

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S E C T. III.

Of the flying Squadron. Whether an honest Man may leave the Party he is engaged in? And whether at any time whatsoever a wise Man should meddle in publick Business?

IT happens sometimes to be the case that the leaders in both parties are unwilling or unable to heal the breach, and that the mutual animosities are too high to admit of an immediate accommodation: What is a man to do who does not pretend to rule, and who has taken upon him no other part than to join with those who he believed had the better cause? There has been something offered to show that it is not consistent with the duty we owe our country to remain neuter, and idle lookers on, while she labours under difficulties: but the question is, Whether it is honest, and truly wise, to incline sometimes to one, and sometimes to the other side, and to trim (as we now call it) between the parties; to endeavour so to act as to ingratiate with both sides; to bear one's self evenly between both, to declare for neither; to judge sovereignly by one's own lights upon all occasions; in all councils and debates to repair thither where we think at present there is the greatest show of reason; and to be numbered with the flying squadron, without which there hardly ever was a popular assembly.

May it not be best to tread in the steps of Servilius the consul, who in a hot contention that lasted a great while between the nobles and the commons, bent himself sometimes one, sometimes the other way, in hopes to win the favour of both; or at least to displease neither: but this his conduct and temporising had an effect quite different from what he

he aimed at, for he came at last to be thought well of by neither party, and grew as hateful even to the people as his colleague Appius, who had always fiercely adhered to the Patricians. “Ita medium
 “se gerendo nec plebis vitavit odium, nec apud
 “patres gratiam iniit. Patres mollem consulem
 “et ambitiosum rati; plebes fallacem, brevique
 “apparuit equasse eum Appii odium.”

Without doubt he that has a very superior judgment, he who is so inquisitive as constantly to know the true bottom of things, he whose reputation is firmly established, he whose virtue is arrived to such a pitch as to be above the reach of envy and detraction, may now and then constitute himself a moderator, and a judge how far one side is in the right, and how much the other is in the wrong. He may abate from the pretensions of them both, he may take the middle way, and give a suffrage though just and true yet grateful to neither side. In important points he may traverse his ground, forsake those with whom he has always joined, and go over to their opinion with whom he is not used to mingle; nay farther, where he has a full conviction of being in the right, he ought singly to stand in opposition to all the rest: but he who pretends to do this upon all occasions, he who at every turn will think himself wiser than all the rest of his friends, who is so wedded to his own opinion that he makes it the only standard by which he tries things, who is so self-sufficient as to think his own judgment incapable of error, and who, upon this presumption, takes upon him to see further than his companions, and to be at liberty to change sides as often as he pleases, does certainly set a higher value upon the strength of his own understanding than is to be allowed to one that is not very much above the vulgar make of men: therefore in a country that unhappily is
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divided into factions, they who affect this impartiality must take care that it does not arise from being partial to themselves; and it is seldom seen that such as would thus be thought disengaged and disinterested, and who assume to be the flying squadron, can escape the imputation of levity or arrogance, if even their honesty is not questioned, and suspected by both parties.

By what is here laid down, we would not be understood to advance, that when a man has once espoused a side he is not to forsake it on any account whatsoever; on the contrary, he who sees his party intirely in the wrong; if he finds they carry things much higher than he intended, or than they themselves at first proposed; if they are deaf to accommodation; if they visibly obstruct their country's peace; if it is plain they cover ill designs under pretences of the common good; if their ambition is become manifest; if self-interest appears in all their doings, and passion in all their councils; if their whole proceedings tend to subvert the state, or to undermine its constitution; and if all this is apparent beyond contradiction; it cannot be deemed inconstancy or desertion in him who abandons such a side, and betakes himself to those whom he thinks more moderate, honefter, more disinterested, and to have righter intentions towards the publick.

And when a wise man does this, it cannot be so properly said he changes his opinion, as that the parties themselves are altered; which often happens to be the case. For where factions have long reigned, nothing is more frequent than to see those who in the beginning had the juster cause, and were innocent, temperate, careful for the commonwealth, and studious of its good, quite corrupted by prosperity and power; and on the other hand to see those who at first were in the wrong, made wiser, more moderate,

rate, better, and honeſter, for having been humbled by adverſities; inſomuch as to become the ſide to which a good patriot may join himſelf with the beſt proſpect of doing ſervice to his country.

But what is a private man to do when both ſides are in the wrong, and when almoſt the whole is corrupted? which ſometimes happens to be the caſe. Are the few who remain untainted to abſent, to quit the ſtage of buſineſs, and to fly from what they cannot hinder? Are they to be ſilent, to aſſent ſlightly, or to withdraw? Thraſea Pætus is blamed for having left the ſenate at ſuch a ſeaſon, becauſe by provoking the preſent power he brought danger upon himſelf, without doing what effectually promoted the cauſe of liberty. “Thraſea Pætus ſilentio
“vel brevi aſſenſu priores adulationes transmittere
“ſolitus exiit tum Senatu, ac ſibi cauſam periculi
“fecit, ceteris libertatis initium non præbuit.” In theſe occurrences good men are to take that courſe which they think will be of the beſt example, and make the ſtrongeſt impreſſion, ſince they ought to be always ready to do or ſuffer any thing, for that common-wealth of which they are members. But generally ſpeaking it ſeems more noble, and more virtuous, not to quit the field, and to ſtand embattled though with but thin ſquadrons, boldly to combat thoſe who would hurt or betray the publick. Beſides, the people think the valiant both wiſe and honeſt, and are hardly brought to believe they can be unſucceſſful; and men muſt be very much depraved indeed if they do not at laſt range themſelves on the ſide of the ſmaller numbers, when they ſee them ſtrenuouſly contending for truth and liberty.

The bad likewise begin to imagine they are in the right when they meet with no opposition; but their guilt makes them tremble, break their ranks, and

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and scatter, when they are perpetually charged with a small, but a fearless band: Nor is it easy to instance a great nation totally reduced to bondage by any domestick power, where there has been a constant succession (though but of a few patriots) always appearing in defence of their freedoms, with undaunted courage.

To despair of the publick is the last thing that should enter into the hearts of wise and honest men: And though they see their country miserably rent asunder by factions, in appearance deaf to terms of reconciliation, and both sides warm, high, and unreasonable, blasting one another's fame in whispers, virulent libels, and angry speeches, and consequently fighting and wounding each the other with invenomed darts, and poisoned weapons, which is or ought to be against the law of arms; yet good men ought not to be disheartened at all this: It is then the proper season for them to exercise their industry and courage; it is the field in which they may best show their wisdom and conduct; it is then they should watch with eyes ever open, to find some lucky moment (which time seldom fails of producing) when both parties may be willing to hear reason: It is then they should be awake to lay hold on all occasions of softening things, of removing the lets that hinder them from meeting, and of abating from the claims, terms, and pretensions of both, that they may be less distant from each other; which opportunities they can never meet with, who in times of trouble retire from business, thinking they do their country sufficient service if they join with neither of the parties, who are bringing on its ruin by their mutual heats, rancour and divisions; whereas in truth the actors themselves are not more guilty than they who sit still, if they have it in their power to prevent the raging mischief. Instead of
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starting at, and flying from disasters of this nature, persons of worth should at such times embrace the commonwealth more warmly, which then stands most in need of their help; and perhaps fortune may have contrived these broils as matter of triumph for their virtues; according to the notion of Machiavel, who lays down, that sometimes it is necessary a country should be without order, harrassed, spoiled, overcome, over-run, and overflown with all kind of calamities; that there may be room and opportunity for men of a great genius to exert themselves in its redemption.

But when affairs are in a disturbed condition some are loath to meddle, being unwilling to involve themselves in danger; as if this caution would any thing avail, since experience dayly shows us, that they who at first refused to suffer for their country's sake, have of necessity been at last brought in to perish with it. "Sapiens nullum pro republica periculum vitabit, ideo quod sæpe fit, ut cum pro republica perire noluerit necessario cum republica pereat." It is therefore more generous, in the beginning to face those perils, which in the end must overtake us.

Yet some have been of opinion that a man truly wise should in no juncture whatsoever enter upon the stage of business, and whether his country be embroiled, or at unity, that he should shun the corruptions of a court, the noise of the bar, and the intrigues of popular assemblies, and remain collected within himself, obscure, safe, and out of the hurry of the world. Many are imbibed with these sentiments, flowing at first from the school of Epicurus; and they who take this course peradventure consult best for themselves. But if they are in the right, it is what they ought not to propagate; and though perhaps it be most true that a wise man should not

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engage in publick affairs, yet it is a doctrine that should be held secret, and as a mystery to be revealed but to very few; for if they who make profession of it should so prevail as to drive all the best sort of men into their gardens and retirement, how madly would human kind be soon governed? And how long could these advocates for pleasure enjoy even that leisure, quiet, and that peace of mind, in which they think the supremest felicity consists?

“ *Ea philosophia quæ suscepit patrocinium voluptatis, & si cui vera videatur, procul abest tamen ab eo, quem quærimus, & quem auctorem publici consilii & regendæ civitatis ducem, & sententiæ atque eloquentiæ principem, in senatu, in populo, in causis publicis esse volumus. Nec ulla tamen ei philosophiæ fiet injuria a nobis. Non enim repelletur inde, quo aggredi cupiet, sed in hortulis quiescet suis, ubi vult; ubi etiam recubans molliter & delicate, nos avocat a rostris, à judiciis, à curia, fortasse sapienter, hac præfertim republica. Quare istos sine contumelia dimittamus. Sunt enim & boni viri: &, quoniam sibi ita videntur, beati: tantumque eos admoneamus, ut illud, etiamsi est verissimum, tacitum tamen tanquam mysterium teneant, quod negant versari in republica esse sapientis. Nam si hoc nobis atque optimo cuique persuaserint, non poterunt ipsi esse, id quod maxime cupiunt otiosi.*”

The philosophy that brings men to despise the world, and to withdraw from it is perhaps good, but that without doubt is much better, which teaches us to be useful to the commonwealth we were born under: Nor, while we are acting in the scene, must we have a stoical contempt of things, we must think it worth the while to labour in search of knowledge, or in the pursuit of moderate wealth, fame and power.

All which, if we should weigh in the true balance, and if we do not endeavour to deceive ourselves as much as ever we can, we shall not be enough in earnest to act out our parts upon the stage.

As the good of human kind is peradventure the only justification a wise man can have for concerning himself any way in the management of affairs, so the good of human kind ought to be his principal, if not only aim; in pursuing which he must suffer much, and overlook many things; he must not be frightened at the vices of the age he lives in; he must bear with the corruption of manners, and the pravity of those he has to deal with; he must look to be accused of singularity, moroseness, and affectation; and if he happens to breathe the air of a divided country, (if he be conspicuous for any eminent worth) he must expect to be the chief mark at which all the arrows of the adverse side shall be levelled; and at the same time he must prepare to see himself frequently betrayed, given up, or at best to be but coldly supported, by the friends in whom he trusted.

He must expect detraction from such as he opposes, and to be envied by those he joins with; to have his own party take advantage of his least failings, and soon forget his greatest merits; and by his endeavours for the publick service to create strong enmities, and but faint friendships.

He must not be alarmed to find subdivisions among his own side, nor to see his acquaintance running precipitately to make their own terms: He must wink at the separate treaties he shall see constantly carried on: He must rather pity than be angry with those whom he observes to desert upon the least fright, and to be seduced by the smallest hope: Without being able to help it, he must often go along with many whom he knows to mean
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nothing but driving on their own designs, while he has no other aim but to promote the common welfare. This and much more a wise and honest man must bear, and be contented to taste all these the bitter fruits of civil discord, and not refuse to mingle with the infected crew, if he has any hopes to reclaim and cure them; and if there is a prospect that his disinterested conduct, his calm temper, and his good example, may work upon others, and contribute to restore peace to his native country.

Whoever has this end, and this design sincerely, unmixed with ambition, and without intending other honours and advancement to himself than as his virtues lift him up, may declare for this or that party as he believes it to have the juster cause; but he cannot stand justified, unless he gives continual proofs, visible to the whole world, that all his councils, endeavours, and labours, tend to pacify things, to heal divisions, and at last quite to root out the very sound and name of faction.

S E C T. IV.

That in a Kingdom divided within itself, there can neither be Secrecy nor Dispatch in Business.

WHERE enterprizes of moment are to be taken in hand, where you are to enter into new alliances or have old ones to maintain, where you have a great war to support, where you have frequent and sudden expeditions to make, or where invasions are threatened and must be opposed, two things are absolutely requisite, secrecy and dispatch, neither of which are to be expected in a country divided within itself.

Secrecy is the very life and spirit of action; where government is so negligent and loose that it cannot be preserved, great designs never take effect, and are like a mine full of holes and vents, which you can never spring so as to annoy your enemies. It has been ever observed of great Princes and captains that they have been impenetrable that way; their actions are like the effects of thunder, the blow comes before you hear the noise. Nor can there be a perfect statesman that does not so contrive matters as to keep private the affairs of his own master, and to dive into the secrets of other nations he has to deal with. The Romans had this skill, or virtue, call it which you please, to such perfection, that when King Eumenes in a solemn manner came to complain before the Senate of the proceedings of King Perseus, and to show the preparations that Prince was then making against the commonwealth, as well what he had opened as the answers made to him from the senate, were all kept private till the conclusion of that war. “Cæterum in præ-

“sentia

“sentia nihil, præterquam fuisse in curia Regem,
“scire quisquam potuit: eo silentio clausa curia
“erat. Bello denique perfecto, quæque dicta ab
“Rege, quæque responsa essent emanavere.” And
yet about that time, as appears from Livy, there
were not fewer in the assembly than 150 persons.
But where factions reign, secrets of state are seldom
preserved. It is a very antient observation, “Nihil
“occulti esse in intestinâ discordia potest.” For
where there are two parties formed in a country,
they mutually strive each to defeat the other’s coun-
cils, and to bring what mischiefs, disgraces and dis-
appointments they can one upon another.

1st, In such junctures the administration itself is
neither careful nor steady, and if they who are at
helm are backed and supported by factions, they
rather study how to humour them than how to do
their Prince’s business, and to keep his designs and
intentions private; or they have correspondencies
with the other side, keeping well with them for fear
of a change; and to create confidence and give
marks of friendship, communicate with them, and
so the secrets of the state come to be laid open.

2dly, Where there are divisions the weaker side
are restless, prying, and inquisitive, nothing escapes
them; and where many are upon the hunt it is
odds but some one starts the true game, and by
mere guess finds out what indeed was never revealed
to him; and so as it were by accident the secrets of
the state are discovered.

But one way or other, there is hardly any instance
of a country divided at home, whose most important
and most private affairs have not been immediately
made known abroad; and the weaker side commonly
believing it, imports them that nothing should pro-
sper which the state takes in hand, and that not any
action or counsel should succeed of which they have

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no participation, and indeed that the government itself should be weak and ill administred in which they are not suffered to make a figure; and hoping the bad fortune or bad conduct of others may bring them into play, they do what lies in their power to distress the publick, by making those abroad masters of your weak parts, and by letting them know your preparations, designs, and expeditions; and besides their being the least suspected, they are the best and most active spies and intelligencers your enemies can have, because engagements with a party, revenge, and ambition, are stronger incitements to bring men to betray their country, than rewards or pensions. And so far as to the ill effects factions have upon that secrecy in councils, which is so necessary for the carrying on of great affairs.

As to dispatch in every important business of a state, without it a large empire is like an unwieldy and gigantick body, which having to do with an active combatant, though of less force, receives 20 wounds before he can return one, and so wastes his own strength, and bleeds on, while his enemy remains fresh and without a hurt. To enter deliberately upon any counsel, maturely to weigh all the objections to it, and not rashly to engage in enterprizes of the highest nature, and of which but few of the consequences can be presently foreseen, is without doubt wise and safe: But at the same time, it is certainly full as prudent and adviseable, to be vigorous and quick, in the execution of what, upon good grounds, and solid reason, you have once resolved. We may advance yet farther, and lay down, that it is less dangerous to a government, now and then to go upon undertakings suddenly, and not with all the caution that perhaps were requisite, than to be perpetually slow, both in deliberating, and in the execution of great designs.

And

And whoever considers the conduct of the Spanish monarchy for these last 100 years, and the success with which their conduct has been attended, will peradventure be of this opinion.

The accidents that befall a state which is now and then too rash in enterprising, are like fevers or some acute distemper in the natural body, from which the patient may very well recover, and be restored to all his former health. But irresolution, continual delays, and slow councils, followed with long protracted action, produce a far more desperate disease; and are a lingering consumption, which in time exhausts the body politick of all its blood and strength.

The attempts that have most succeeded in the world, are such as have been first maturely considered, and then swiftly executed. You take your enemies unprepared, you deprive them of the benefits of time which you yourself have had; and with council and order you come to encounter them surpris'd and in confusion, than which nothing can place you in a better, and them in a worse condition.

But this dispatch, this celerity, and vigour in action, which fortune seldom fails of crowning with success, is rarely the result of a divided council. Never any war had a more prosperous beginning than that which Hannibal maintained against the Romans: He gave them three such overthrows, at Trebia, the lake of Thrasymene, and at Cannæ, as must have sunk any other commonwealth: But while he was so victorious abroad, civil discord prevailed in Carthage, so as to defeat all that he could do, either by his courage, or his conduct. Had his citizens been unanimous in carrying on the war, in all probability he might have reduced the power of Rome, and had gained that sovereign empire for which these great opposites contended. Or had they

been unanimous to promote peace, at least he had saved his own country from destruction. But the senate was then divided into two powerful factions; the Barcine family, and Hannibal's adherents, were for pushing on the war; Hanno headed those who inclined to peace; but these parties could not agree among one another, to promote what was truly for the publick good. There were two councils, either of which, if they could have agreed in, might have saved the state of Carthage. The war was to have been carried on with vigour, and the necessary supplies of men, provisions, money, and ships, were to be sent to Hannibal. Or a peace was to have been concluded after the notable advantage they gained at Cannæ, which was the advice of Hanno. But the factions obstructed both these measures; for where they reign, right reason is never heard. What Hanno said was opposed, and had no weight, because it was thought to proceed from his hatred to those of Hannibal's party: "*Haud multos movit Hannonis oratio, nam et simulas cum familiâ Barcinâ leviozem auctorem faciebat.*" And when the other side called out to have the war supplied, it met with the like opposition; as being thought to arise from their affection and partiality to Hannibal. The Barcine faction was strong enough to hinder peace, and they of Hanno's inclining, could interpose such delays in the senate, and raise so many difficulties in the supplies which an invading army wanted; they could so withhold men and money, as might slacken the nerve of war, and make it ineffectual. Thus each side was strong enough to contradict the other, and to hinder the measures that were good for both; but neither side had authority sufficient to prevail, in what was certain to prevent the ruin of their country. And thus this flourishing commonwealth, headed by so great a man,

man, was forced at last to undergo the yoke of a people whom they had so often subdued in fight, but who governed themselves by better united councils.

And this generally is the condition of divided countries. Your Hannos and your Hannibals had rather the publick should suffer than lose ground themselves. Nor does it avail to have the superior number, for they who are not strong enough to carry things their own way, are yet able to do mischief: the weaker side can perplex; where they cannot govern; though they have not strength quite to ward the blow, they can break all its force; and they can lay a heavy weight upon the wheels of that chariot, which they are not allowed to drive. Thus where faction reigns, that time is spent in vain and endless debates which should be employed in action. They are more solicitous to get a domestick advantage, than to reduce a foreign enemy; what one side has well laid, the other is glad to disappoint, though at the expence of both; until at last, for want of dispatch at home, nothing succeeds well abroad; for where councils languish, action of necessity will become faint and impotent; and your ardour cools while that of the foe increases. He prospers, and you decline, because he is doing, while you are in disputes what to do, and lose time and opportunity; which in war, and in all other great affairs, is of the most importance.

S E C T. V.

That Ministers of State, but more especially Princes, should use their utmost care to hinder the growth of Faction and to heal Divisions.

WHEN M. Æmilius Lepidus and M. Fulvius Nobilior were made censors, whose hatred to each other had heretofore broke out into such violences as to disturb Rome, the senate thought this a matter of that importance as to interpose in their mutual reconciliation; and Cæcilius Metellus, who was to take the work upon him, closed his speech to them both with this memorable saying; That our enmities ought to be short-lived, and our friendships immortal. “Amicitias immortales, inimicitias mortales esse debere.” If it was judged of dangerous consequence in a city not yet polluted with intestine war, that two of their great ones should remain enemies; how much more pernicious must it be for a whole people to continue divided, and inflamed with animosities, whose ancestors have so often met, and charged one another in the field of battle?

And every private man in his station should follow the example of Metellus, but especially they who are in posts of trust, and to whose hands the management of affairs is committed; but ministers of state generally take a course quite different; and because it sometimes happens to be their case to have been first introduced by the interest of a party, they think they cannot preserve themselves but by keeping parties still afoot. Perhaps, according to the wicked rules of human policy, they may be in the right to foment division who are fallen from greatness they once enjoyed, to which they may have a prospect

prospect to be restored by the aids and voices of their faction; but this cannot be the true path for those to tread in who are in actual possession, who hold the reins, and to whom power is already acquired; for though factions may give a false appearance of strength, they are but a rotten and deceitful foundation to rest upon; it being obvious to every man's experience, that if such as are called their heads do not follow them in all their extravagant humors, and gratify all their irregular appetites, demands, and pretensions, their kindness and good will is lost immediately.

There is nothing they expect not from those they believe the creatures of their favour; and each particular member of the party so much overrating his own merits, there is not wherewithal to please the whole; the majority rather after a little time find themselves disappointed, and they who are thus fallen from their hopes become indifferent, if they do not grow to be quite alienated: So that ministers of state (if they consider nicely) are so far from receiving advantage or security from divisions, that it is for them the most dangerous condition of a country: For at such seasons they are certain to be hourly attacked by their enemies; and let their station be never so high, it is impossible they should have sufficient means of securing all those of whose interest and friendship they stand in need, who meddle with the business of a nation, in governing of which the people by their representatives have any share.

They who covet power should endeavour to obtain it by honest and noble arts, or they will find it but of short continuance: They should desire rather to direct a people well united and obedient to the laws, than to be the leaders of an incensed and giddy multitude: It is men only of an inferior
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genius that think to be considerable by stirring up domestick wrangles. But the people should be wiser than to listen to such a sort of men, or than to think that these flatterers and courtiers of the rabble, who are always adding fuel to the fire of discord, intend them any good, or that they have any other end than to carry on their own designs. These intriguing medlers and disturbers of the publick, are finely described by the consul Cincinnatus, in an oration where he persuades the Romans to lay aside their dissensions at home, and to prepare to arm themselves against the dangers that were threatened from abroad. “*Nisi forte assentatores publicos, plebicolas istos, qui vos nec in armis, nec in otio esse sinunt, vestra vos causa incitare & stimulare putatis. Concitati, aut honori aut quæstui illis estis: & quia in concordia ordinum nullos se usquam esse vident, malæ rei se quam nullius, turbarum ac seditionum, duces esse volunt.*” There is no country without such a race of men, very dextrous to mislead the people, but unskilful how to rule them; grasping at power which they know not how to keep; with restless ambitious spirits, at any time ready to subvert that state which they are not allowed to govern.

Ministers are apt to think themselves pilots good enough to sail in any weather, and perhaps their skill is very great; but when popular storms rage high, we see them frequently thrown upon rocks, or foundered by the violence of the tempest; but most often the partiality of human nature hinders them from weighing the rancour of their enemies, and the affection of their friends, in a right balance; they think the one less, and the other more, than upon tryal it proves to be; and thus deceived they take not due care to put an end to factions,

as presuming they can by their authority make them determine when they please, and that such breaches in the publick, are rather matter for their abilities to work upon, than real objects of their fear; whereas in truth the most discerning, and most innocent man, that ever took upon him to meddle with the business of a state, cannot be safe till wounds of the like nature are in a way of being healed; which ought to be the first point good statesmen should take in hand; and if they do not make this the groundwork of their ministry, and if they cannot bring it about, they will find they enjoy but a brief and precarious greatness.

But above all others it most imports princes to subdue this many-headed monster. Is not all duty, respect, and allegiance to them, in a manner suspended while factions reign? Do not they share that power between them of which princes have such reason to be jealous? While a river is suffered to divide itself into different streams, is not the main channel left dry and easy to be forded? So long as the league subsisted, who could be said to rule in France, Henry III, or the Princes of Bourbon and the Duke of Guise? Did not all the essential strength center in them, while he only bore the empty name of King? Do not both parties quickly grow to incline more to their own leaders than to their Sovereign, who is the true head of the commonwealth? And what is it they generally contend for? It is not who shall best serve him, but whose service he shall be compelled to make use of. If he thinks by dark arts and policy to make both sides subservient to his ends, and to remain a safe umpire between them, he may do it for a while; but besides the infinite difficulties that arise in this conduct, it is a game that cannot long be played, and they who have tryed so to govern, and who
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by leaning sometimes to one, and sometimes to the other, have thought to command the whole, have been found out to that degree at last, as to become contemptible or odious to both, and brought in the conclusion to declare against their will for one or the other side; which in effect is reducing a Prince to the condition of a private person, or at best but making him a ruler of half his people.

But in a divided country, which way can a Prince incline with safety, supposing his wisdom and interest to be such as compel either side to seek his countenance and favour? Is he to join with those who have the appearance of being strongest? But will not they endeavour to awe him with that strength? Will they not be insolent, and imposing? And is he not in a manner the slave of their irregular ambition? Or if by putting himself into the scale with the weaker side, he thinks to make the balance even, does he not as it were submit to fortune the whole decision of his affairs? For by so doing he makes but an equality of force, which at last is to determine of his condition. Is he to let the clashing parties break and destroy one another? But in the interim, do not these strivings hurt that commonwealth which is under his care? And will not he be the first that comes to want the strength that is thus consumed? Or is he to continue neuter, and, as Henry the III^d said of himself, "dry between two Rivers," without power, respect, or dependencies, while the leaders of sedition sway the whole, are the only persons thought on and regarded, and dispose of all things at their discretion?

Each of these courses is attended with its particular danger. The method generally followed by Princes in cases of this nature, when they cannot bring both to terms of accommodation, is to head
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that party which is strongest in interest and numbers; but this almost inevitably leads to civil war: For they who are thus strengthened with the royal name, think themselves such an over-balance for the rest, and become so proudly confident of success, that they will listen to no equal propositions, nor be brought to hear of those concessions which of necessity must be made on both sides, when differences are to be fully reconciled. They are for a compleat victory, for trampling down their enemies, or for making them pass ignominiously under the yoke; as the Sabins served the Romans, contrary to the advice of old Herennius, the most moderate, and consequently the wisest man among them. Such as imagine they have the upper hand, slight the advice of dismissing the vanquished safe and untouched: "*Omnes inde quam primum inviolatos dimittendos.*" They think they have not conquered unless they triumph. Thus the side that has their Prince, the laws, and the governing part with them, believe the game sure, are deaf to temperate councils, and often drive things to that extremity that at last arms must decide the quarrel. And thus it fared with us in the reign of King Charles the Ist. The nobility, most of the gentry, and the high churchmen of one side, and the main body of the commons on the other, produced two powerful factions. The King was persuaded to declare for the first, who by their quality, wealth, and interest even with the commonalty, and in many other circumstances, appeared to be much superior both in real strength and numbers. When they had him with them they thought themselves above treating, and that it was needless to make any advances towards the people, whom small matters would have at first contented; instead of lenitives they applied corroding medicines.

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Had half the pains been employed in quieting things, as was made use of to inflame the parties; had both sides receded as far as justice and the publick good required, all had been soon at peace: But these two hard bodies were so often struck one against the other that fire came out at last; and the angry men in parliament of both factions, promoted those warm debates, disputes and altercations, which not long after were determined in the field.

Moreover it often happens to be the case that the side discountenanced by their sovereign, insulted by their opposites, distressed, pushed at with violence, and driven to despair, are at length compelled to have recourse to foreign aids for protection and support. Thus when King John headed the Commons against his Nobles, the Barons, unable to resist him with their proper forces, called over the French; and the Duke of Guise, when he saw the King resolved to ruin him, his house, with those of his dependence, and by his authority quite to suppress the league, he and they threw themselves under the King of Spain's protection. Of this many more examples might be given, and some nation or other will be always sure to countenance such a desperate and discontented band: Nor indeed does this hardly ever fail happening to a country that has neighbours jealous of its power and greatness; for it costs your enemies much less to keep you embroiled at home, and to feed a civil war, than it does to be principals, and to fight wholly at the expence of their own men and treasure: It is in prospect therefore of these dangerous defections that Machiavel exhorts Princes not to suffer factions in the state. He says they never do good: That when the enemy approaches and the country is divided, it must of necessity, and that suddenly, be lost, because the weaker party will always fall off to the enemy,

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enemy, and the other singly is not strong enough to defend it. That the Venetians were at the brink of ruin for having encouraged the Guelphs and Gibbelins to form their parties. That such methods of ruling argue weakness in the Prince; for no government of any strength, or consistence, will endure such divisions, because they can be useful only in times of peace, when perhaps they may contribute to the more easy management of his subjects; but when war comes, the fallacy of those councils is quickly discovered. This was the opinion of our wise Florentine, who was no incompetent judge of these matters; Italy having been for the age before, and the times he lived in, the true theatre of state intrigues, and the school in which these dark and subtle lessons were taught and put in practice.

Great Princes give the truest proof of their wisdom and conduct, when they govern steddily, without these sinister arts, which are commonly suggested to them by weak ministers, the meer creatures of popular favour, who have no intrinsic worth in themselves, who could never be taken notice of, nor come at power, but as they are cryed up by the voices, and ushered in by the strength of their followers of one or of the other party. But though statesmen may sometimes find their accompt in divisions of the people, it is otherwise with Sovereigns, whose authority is always thereby impaired and lessened; however the posture of affairs is often such that they cannot be subdued nor reconciled. In such cases without doubt a great and wise prince (if the circumstance of things will possibly admit of a perfect neutrality in him) is to incline nor to one nor to the other; for which reason Homer, who is the fountain of policy as well as of all other knowledge, shews Jupiter the supream

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ruler, reproving the Gods and Goddeſſes for ſiding ſome with the Greeks, and ſome with the Trojans : And when he vouchſafes to deſcend upon mount Ida, he takes part with neither, and is deſcribed holding the golden balance in which the deſtinies of both are weighed. But when neceſſity compels the Sovereign to declare himſelf, which now and then becomes unavoidable where factions have been of long continuance, and are grown ſo powerful as to ſhake the throne by their mutual fury ; in ſuch a juncture a Prince leaning that way where he thinks his own dignity ſafeſt, and the publick welfare moſt conſulted, is to do it with that moderation, mercy, and compaſſion, that there may be room left for repentance, that the arms of the commonwealth may remain ſtill open for thoſe who deſire to return with righter inclinations to her ſervice. Nor is he to ſuffer thoſe who are either ſtrong in themſelves, or ſo made by his declaration in their favour, to be implacable to the ſide that is brought under, ſo that the paſt errors of their management are to be eternally remembered, never forgiven, and always upbraided to them. On the contrary, it is agreeable to his goodneſs, and ſuiting with his character of common father, to interpoſe for ſuch, eſpecially of the unfortunate, as ſhow minds diſpoſed to embrace peaceful councils, who deſire to be quiet and to quit all thoughts of returning to that adminiſtration where they have not been ſucceſſful ; who pretend not ſo to inſiſt upon their own innocence as to inſult the publick, and who think they cannot be abſolutely free from blame in that they ſo behaved themſelves as to incur the diſpleaſure of their country. Where men are of this temper, the Prince, beyond all diſpute, does nobly in endeavouring to abate the edge of any anger that may be againſt them : But it becomes an act of neceſſary prudence rather

rather fairly to invite them to consent with others in measures for the common safety, than to leave them to the resentment of those whom perhaps they have justly provoked: If the posts these men have been in, if the power they have formerly had of obliging divers persons have procured them many followers and adherents, if either by good or bad arts, by skill or some real worth, they have so wrought as generally to be esteemed heads and leaders, though but of much the weaker party, with whose help they will be always able to disturb his affairs, for they who think themselves or their friends in danger will never join heartily in assisting the commonwealth; they will apprehend they cannot be safe but by confusion, and consequently must endeavour to promote it: They will clog the wheels of government, perplex matters, and delay publick business; nothing in great assemblies being more easy than for the joint councils of a few, to obstruct or frustrate the wisdom and good intentions of all the rest.

In countries therefore that are engaged in a foreign war, or threatened with invasions or other perils of the like nature, it is an evidence of the highest sagacity for a Prince so to bear himself that the wishes, hearts, hands, and affections of his whole people may center in one point, which can never be where any considerable number of men are rendered uneasy, at best doubtful of their own condition, if not quite desperate: For such must be looked upon as members lopt off from the main trunk, they will have different hopes, fears, inclinations, and a different interest from the rest of their fellow-subjects; they will be afflicted with the prosperities, and rejoice at any disasters that befall the state, whose secret enemies they are sure to continue; fear always begetting hatred; and it is

well if at last they do not enter into all the other bad measures which despair produces.

And upon this score, the lenity of that Prince is to be applauded, who desires past faults may be as far overlooked, and forgotten, as is possibly consistent with the being of the constitution (for total impunity brings contempt upon the laws, and begets a lasting succession of ill government) and who thinks it punishment enough to remove those from power, who were thought to abuse it, interposing so, as that when fallen from their former greatness, they may be obscurely safe, and not totally abandoned to that indignation of their country, which at least their accusers may think they have deserved.

And though to act thus is not without its dangers, since to see others fall so gently may encourage succeeding ministers to tread in the same steps, and to fear making no attempts upon the publick, which are first attended with profit, and then with safety; yet perhaps this conduct is excusable in a nation long rent asunder by divisions, where men, not content to think their friends always in the right, grow at last to that warmth, or rather madness, openly to defend and espouse the very crimes of their own party.

But faction itself is more pernicious and worse than any other disease good patriots and state-physicians can propose to heal in the body politick; all methods therefore leading to its cure are in reason to be tryed, but it seems not so well to be dealt with by rough as by gentle remedies.

Insolence, treachery, misgovernment, rapacity, profusion, negligence, braving of publick justice, and whatever else ministers are commonly charged with whose administration is so unfortunate as not to please, are without doubt all hurtful to a country,
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and of a bad example to be forgiven; but the age may be so corrupt as not to bear the correction of such abuses, and so depraved that guilt may be upon better terms than innocence itself. And it was a saying of Portius Cato before the senate, it was safer that an ill man should not be accused, than that he should be acquitted. "Hominem improbum non accusari tutius est quam absolvi." The question therefore will be, Whether it is not of more dangerous consequence to make a fruitless attempt to conquer vice, than to let a bad man go unpunished for a while? And if the laws and government are at any time truly impotent, and unable to cope with powerful iniquities, it is when faction reigns: from whence may be argued, that it more imports the commonwealth to root it out, than to animadvert upon any crimes whatsoever that may have been committed in the state.

Male-administration does, it is true, deform a government, but not so deface it as that its former beauty can never be restored; succeeding care may mend all that was amiss; errors may be redressed, future wisdom and good management may set that right which was wrong before, and the laws will recover their antient force: But it is difficult to give a single instance of any country that has not come at last to lose its very constitution where factions have been long kept up, and eagerly fomented.

For contending parties either so shake the bulwarks and fences of liberty, that a breach is made wide enough for arbitrary power to enter in at, and take possession; or they vye who shall flatter most to that degree, each going farther lengths than the other, in order to get the upperhand, and to gratify their passions of revenge and ambition, that from one step to another, they come in time to give up the whole, and are both brought under the yoke of bondage,

Nor indeed is there any thing that more dispoles the minds of men to slavery or to whatever else is bad, than the game factions play for power; in which, as in common gaming, all false arts are made use of: It teaches them circumventions, sly tricks, or to cheat openly, and to think nothing foul that may turn to their advantage; while the few that would be honest and play upon the square, are sure to come off losers, and to be but the dupes and a prey to all the rest.

Seeing then what a variety of ill consequences are thereby produced, all men ought to concur in their endeavours with the Prince, when by a mild and benign course of ruling, he labours to reconcile the animosities that divide his people.

But if the Sovereign and the ministers observe that lenity is slighted, that impunity for past crimes does not beget repentance, and has no other effect but to make offenders bolder, and more enterprizing; if they see ambitious men forming among themselves a strength wherewith they may be upon terms to oppose the government and outbrave the laws; if nothing but power will content them; if they seem determined to force the administration into their own hands, and to do it even at the hazard of their countries peace; if in order to this they cabal at home, and misrepresent the management of affairs to the Princes confederates abroad; if they receive with a kind of sullen pleasure any misfortune that befalls the publick; if they give an ill turn to all the best actions, and appear to be sorry when things prosper; if they hinder all business which they are not allowed to manage; if they foment divisions in a false hope to be safer by confusion than in quiet times; if they are traced contriving dark mischiefs; if they tread in the known steps that lead towards sedition; if they give visible proofs that they design to disturb the state; if private persons, or any of the

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parties are doing all this, at such a season, and in such a case, gentle courses are to be laid aside; they who govern are to rouse up and exert themselves; they are to apply strong remedies, and to take all the legal methods that may conduce to their own preservation.

Nor can men of turbulent spirits easily gather to such a head but that a stand may be made at all times in rescue of the laws, if they who have the power, and hold the reins, have courage to face the danger; but where this is wanting, and where the ministers are so disarmed by their own fears, that they are neither in a posture to oppose their enemies, nor to protect their friends, there faction may range freely, and bear down all before it. But if they who sit at helm have that bold virtue which truth and justice should inspire, the government has always so many whom interest, inclination, or their duty, link together in its defence, that it is not difficult to defeat their designs who may perhaps desire to disturb its peace.

But where there are these jealousies, and where they seem not to be ill grounded, yet even in this case a great deal is to be overlooked, and we are not presently to be so alarmed as to let discord be revived upon every slight occasion. We are not always to take for designs to embroil the state, a few angry resentments which men may show that are fallen from an eminence, and who have been harassed and attacked. When they cabal and endeavour to stir people up in their favour, they intend perhaps no more than to carry on a defensive war, and will be glad to sound a retreat when they think themselves quite out of danger; and the bustle they seem to make at such a time, is peradventure nothing but the struggles and convulsions of departing ambition, then in the very agonies of death.

S E C T. VI.

What sort of Measures are best for great Men to take when they lie under publick Accusations.

IT is a foolish and desperate thing for single persons, let their interest be never so great, to think of contending with the representatives of a people. For there is hardly any government, that in the revolution of a little time, does not come to stand in need either of the hands or purses of the commons, and when this happens, those bold men are sure to be made a sacrifice to publick necessity. In such cases therefore he who is so unfortunate as to have offended by his conduct, is not to stand his ground, but to withdraw till that anger is appeased or qualified, which increases by opposition. It is likewise as vain and rash for a man struck at, and once accused, to think of facing his enemies by the strength and faction of his friends: For if you are still in the post of power, you know not whom to trust; because you know not who, even of your own side, is secretly designing to supplant you. If you are quite out, they who were the friends of your prosperity, when you can be no longer useful to them, will soon grow cool in your concerns, and leave you to wrestle by yourself with the indignation you have provoked. But suppose a man has a number of followers resolved to run all his dangers, and so strong a party for him as that by their help and interest he has fair hopes of surmounting all difficulties, and to keep the power he has, or to recover his lost greatness; so fortified, is he to contest the point? Is he to hold up faction that upholds him? And is he to endeavour his own preservation, though at the hazard of the publick peace?

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Or is he to quit the stage of business, and to retire, rather than be the cause or matter of dissention? No doubt an honest man and a good patriot is to take the last course, and not involve the publick in his troubles or misfortunes; for we are to suffer for our country, but our country is not to suffer for us: "Equidem pro patria qui letum oppetissent sæpe fando audiui: qui patriam pro se perire æquum censerent, hi primi inventi sunt." And he that stands accused, if he be criminal, this modesty abates the edge of his prosecution. Nor on the other hand does giving way to popular displeasure argue guilt. Many famous men have chosen voluntary exile rather than the state should be disturbed by interpositions made on their behalf. Furius Camillus and several other great men did so, whose virtues were as much without a blemish as they are beyond imitation. And he who makes such a retreat, and who, conscious of his own worth and innocence, yet consults the common quiet more than his own present fame, seldom fails of being called back with a higher and more established reputation.

No doubt it must greatly conduce towards healing breaches in the commonwealth, to preserve such a temper in the prosecution of offences, as may render no considerable number of persons desperate: Not to be implacable against any who lay under the heavy weight of accusation: At the same time not to oppose or obstruct justice, by openly countenancing and espousing their cause who are indeed criminal, or who at least are thought so, is the best and safest course. Persons accused should be advised to that modesty in defending themselves, and to that respect and deference towards those with whom the power of inquiring into, and animadverting upon crimes of the like nature is intrusted, as may tend to allay
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and soften the heat and anger that is conceived against them. Whereas the conduct opposite to this, to outdare and insult their prosecutors, or right or wrong to defend persons accused in defiance of government, must in time bring the constitution itself to be the subject of your quarrel; which is of such dangerous consequence that it can end in nothing but perpetual discord, and a total subversion of the laws. But when one side comes with moderation, and the other with that submission which is always decent in those who are upon the defensive part, such expedients may be thought on, and such middle courses taken, as shall at least secure the publick peace, and preserve the constitution from being violated.

There is no truer symptom of a distracted state, thoroughly infected and ripe for innovations, than to see persons publickly accused, courted and followed: If some think them innocent, it is at least a high disrespect to that part of the supreme power that is most concerned in the proceeding; which part when despised and insulted, it is a mark your government is loose and weak, and that your laws are impotent: But if they are guilty, it is a sign that guilt has many favourers and protectors; than which there cannot be a more melancholy prospect. The Romans, till they were quite corrupted, behaved themselves in another manner towards those who lay under popular accusations, of which Machiavel gives a very remarkable instance in the case of Manlius Capitolinus; who began to make parties and raise tumults in Rome both against the Senate and the laws. In which passage it was evident how well that government was constituted, and how well that people was disposed; for in this case (though the nobility and he were great friends, and fierce defenders of one another's interests) none of them,

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not his very relations, appeared in his behalf; and whereas at other tryals, the friends of the criminal used to accompany him to the bar in mourning, and with all other circumstances of sadness that they could think of, to work if possible the judges to compassion; Manlius went alone, without so much as one friend to attend him. The Tribunes of the people, who were in other things always opposite to the nobility, and created on purpose to balance their power, when they found the design tending to the ruin of them all, they joined heartily with them to remove so common a destruction: And the people of Rome, who were zealous for any thing that made for their advantage, and lovers of any thing that crossed the nobility, (though they had also their kindness for Manlius) nevertheless when the tribunes cited him, and referred him to the judgment of the people, they condemned him to death, without any consideration of his former services. And our author adds, That in the whole tract of the Roman history, there is not an example that with more efficacy demonstrates the justice of that commonwealth in all its orders and degrees of men than this; seeing there was not one citizen appeared in the defence of Manlius, who was a person of known virtues and endowments, and had done many honourable things both in publick and private; and the reason was, because the love to their country had a greater influence upon them than any other respect; and the consideration of the present danger of their affairs being stronger than the memory of his past merits, they chose to free themselves by decreeing his death.

This was the deportment of that people where the person was thought guilty. Brigues and cabals were not made in his favour, there were none so desperately depraved as to be willing rather to give
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up their constitution, than not to bring off their friend. Nor was there less modesty, deference, and submission to the publick, shown by those who were truly innocent. P. Scipio Africanus, though he gained the noblest victory that ever man had over his accusers, when quitting the place of judgment, and ascending the Capitol to thank the Gods for the prosperous condition into which the affairs of the commonwealth had been brought by his military skill and valour, he was accompanied by the senate, the magistrates, and the whole body of the commons, so that the very clerks and lictors left his enemies the tribunes to follow him, which was thought a greater glory than when he triumphed for the conquest of Syphax and the Carthaginians: Yet he was not so puffed up with these marks of general love and popular affection, as to out-dare the justice of his country. He wisely saw this was his last happy day, that he had contracted envy, that he should be engaged in perpetual disputes with the tribunes of the people: Some small errors of negligence had escaped him, and his mind was too great, and he had been used to higher fortune than as a criminal to plead his cause, and to submit to that humility which is so needful at the bar; he therefore retired to Liternum, with a resolution not to stand his tryal. “*Hic speciosus ultimus dies P. Scipioni illuxit. Post quem, quum invidiam et certamina cum tribunis prospiceret, die longiore prodicta, in Liternum concessit; certo concilio ne ad causam dicendam adesset. Major animus et natura esset, ac majori fortunæ assuetus quam ut reus esse sciret, et summittere in humilitatem causam dicentium.*” But perhaps this great man, and others who have trod in the same steps, whose virtue and merit so infinitely outweighed whatever could be censured in their conduct, might yet

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have a farther view in thus withdrawing from that displeasure, which, with a little labour, they could have overcome: And considering the general sanctity of their manners, and how deeply love to the publick was imprinted in their minds, it is not improbable but that they did so in order to give more strength and vigour to the laws.

There hardly ever was a man who did long manage the affairs of any large empire, whose whole actions have been intirely blameless. Either multiplicity of business makes him err, or those about him are corrupt, or he himself is surpris'd in his soft hours, or love, pity, or some other passion works upon him, but still something happens that cannot bear the test of a severe inquiry. Taking this for granted, which is not to be oppos'd, if he who has thus fail'd comes to be called in judgment, where full proof is made, if he escapes by power and interest, the laws are in so much despis'd and trampled under; a breach is so far made upon the constitution; a precedent is established for impunity; and past merit commutes for present crimes; which by the rules of justice is not to be allowed: Nor can it be denied but that all this is of dangerous consequence to the publick. Therefore when Scipio declined his tryal upon the pretence of sickness, and went into voluntary exile, it is not at all impossible but that he knew himself not wholly innocent; through his neglect the treasure of King Antiochus might peradventure have been imbezzeled, which was the fault the Petillii charged upon him, and for which his brother Lucius was afterwards condemn'd at the suit of Portius Cato. However as to Publius, this would have weigh'd little put in the balance with all his brave exploits in Africk, Spain, and Asia: And though the administration was then severe, it is not unlikely but that so small a failing would

would have been forgiven in so great a man : But it is rather to be believed he did not appear, as unwilling to give the constitution of his country such a wound as his acquittal must have proved, the example of which must have hurt the state of Rome more than banishment could hurt him ; for it had opened the gap, and authorized all the corruptions that were to follow. Thus a man truly virtuous, will not work his own safety out of that which must be a real mischief to the rest of mankind ; but rather suffer in his fame, ease and fortune, than make a step which may tend to weaken the laws, and whereby the dignity and majesty of the commonwealth may be lessened and impaired.

Heretofore men were so far from countenancing the guilty, and from making factions on their behalf, and the guilty were so far from braving justice, that he upon whom a publick censure had once passed, did seldom afterwards think it decent to intermeddle in the affairs of government, even though he had been wrongfully condemned : For which reason M. Livius Salinator, at the end of his censorship, laid a fine upon all the tribes of Rome, except the Mæcian (which had neither passed sentence against him, nor given their voices to confer dignities upon him) because while he remained under a condemnation, they had chosen him, first consul, and then censor. In as much as that either formerly they had wronged his innocence, or that if he were guilty, they had committed two errors in suffering him to fill two such important posts : That one way their injustice, on the other their levity deserved censure. “ M. Livius in ærarium venit et præter
 “ Mæciam Tribum, quæ se nec condemnasset, ne-
 “ que condemnatum aut consulem aut censo-
 “ rem fecisset ; populum Romanum omnem, quatuor
 “ et triginta tribus, ærarios reliquit, quod et inno-
 “ centem

“centem se condemnassent, et condemnatum consul-
“sulem et censorem fecissent: neque inficiari pos-
“sent, aut judicio semel, aut comitiis, bis ab se
“peccatum esse.—Castigatio inconstantiae populi
“censoria et gravitate temporum illorum digna.”
Which punishment of an inconstant vulgar suited
with the gravity of those times, and of that ma-
gistracy.

In kingly governments it is always dangerous to
the Prince that a faction should buoy up and sup-
port private men against his authority, but more
especially where the marks of his disfavour are both
well grounded and apparent. If his displeasure is
sufficient to recommend a man to the peoples liking,
it is a sign the state is very much distempered. It
was reckoned ominous to Julius Cæsar when Ma-
rullus and Cæsarius, whom he had newly disgraced,
had a great many voices to be consuls. But it is
yet worse when men are followed, cried up, and
countenanced, who are under accusations of the
highest nature, and who are obnoxious not only to
him but to the state: For it is then a sign that there
is a party endeavouring to contend with him even
for dominion, or who at least would set up “impe-
“rium in imperio,” which a wise Prince is not to
suffer; and whatever side is strong enough to con-
demn the innocent, and acquit the guilty, in oppo-
sition to what passes for the governing part of the
state, may be truly said to hold in a manner the
reins of empire, to rival the Prince’s power, and
indeed to have set themselves above the laws: And
where this happens, that nation is so depraved and
divided that it cannot long preserve its constitution.

But in some governments ministers are frowned
upon, cast out, and persecuted for opposing wrong
measures, for adhering to the laws, for maintaining
the peoples rights; and are such men to be forsaken?

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Must none take their cause in hand? Are we to give them up to ruin and oppression? And are we so to flatter the present times as to be of fortune's side in the war she often makes with virtue? No doubt to do so is mean, treacherous, and base; it countenances the bad, and the good are thereby discouraged. As far therefore as is consistent with the publick peace, endeavours should be used that right may be done to such as suffer upon the like accounts: But this ought to be the care of the whole commonwealth, and not the business of any party. And frequently the whole publick does come at last to concern itself where real worth and merit are oppressed: And the fallen minister who thus has the general suffrage of the people for him, seldom fails of being restored to his Prince's favour; or at least he makes such a retreat as ought to content an honest man. But his merits are very doubtful, that is, some think he deserves reward, others punishment, whose case becomes the concern and business of a party only.

It is plain enough we ought to lay to heart the cause of oppressed and injured merit, but a man that is truly good does not desire you should so espouse his interest as to disturb the quiet of your country: Therefore nothing more denotes the true worth and virtue of a man than his behaviour in declension. He who bears disgraces of this nature with a noble and constant mind; he who is unwilling any noise should be made about him; who calmly expects the return of that favour he has lost; who thinks it indecent, even in his own defence, to struggle with the publick; who modestly receives the honours the state confers upon him, and lays them down with reluctance: He who thus demeans himself deserves to sit at the helm, and be restored to the greatness from which he fell. But they who bear

bear the wounds of fortune impatiently ; who in their private ruin would involve the commonwealth, or ravish from her her honours and preferments ; who are so partial to themselves they would arm all mankind to fight their battles, and who in order to this keep up and foment divisions : Whoever in their general conduct show such a sort of spirit, let their pretences be what they will, they are more concerned for something else than to clear their own innocence. In state matters time and future events seldom fail to justify the innocent without such impetuous motions, which in truth are arguments of guilt. They who would thus raise an universal storm rather than be themselves for a while clouded, cannot be true patriots : Ambition lies at the bottom of their hearts ; self-interest sways their actions ; and whatever appearances they, who act in such a manner, may have of worth and abilities, it is not what will bear the test of discerning judgments. It can never be wise for a man, upon his own account, to disquiet his Prince or country ; it may do for a while, he may have a false show of strength ; but they who in order to their own security, take upon them to play this game, and who seem to have drawn in many to be concerned for them, will find at last that instead of real friends, they have made two sorts of enemies ; those whom they have provoked, and those whom they have deluded.

The moderation here mentioned, as a good expedient to heal breaches in a divided country, must be reciprocal. Violence in accusation, or in defence, are equally to be laid aside : As where the publick is offended, no man is to dwell too much upon his own innocence, so peradventure several faults may be overlooked in modest and resigned offenders. And as laws are established to preserve

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the publick safety, where the guilt or innocence of persons, by mutual indiscretions, is made a party-business, both sides are to weigh with equal prudence what effect their proceedings may have upon the constitution; for when they come to consider coolly, both sides will find they have the same concern that it should not be overthrown. Besides, frequently to contemplate the publick good, and to make it the sole object of their thoughts, naturally brings men to agree in the means that lead to it, and prepares them to be reconciled to one another.

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S E C T. VII.

That Misgovernment is as well redressed by looking into Things, as by accusing Persons; and concerning retrospective Enquiries.

PRIVATE men in the attacks made upon them would scarce be able to raise factions, and to interest a nation in their quarrel, if they who set themselves to correct abuses in the state, would show a disposition to mend things rather than to meddle with persons; and the attempt is stronger, and surer to take effect the one than the other way: For though persons have been sometimes brought in aid of things, by the greatness of their names, power, and interest, to obstruct inquiries, and though they have been held up as shields for inferior criminals to fight under, yet the assembly must be very corrupt where this succeeds; it is an artifice that can hardly be made use of more than once; and they who let their party thus set them in the forefront of the battle, instead of protecting others, find it difficult to save themselves: Besides this craft is easily defeated by overlooking the person, and steadily pursuing to correct the fault, which is always the safest course; for men grow ashamed of defending what is in itself a real crime, nor can it have perpetual advocates; but friendship, acquaintance, kindred, holding the same opinion, with several other reasons and excuses, are pretended for making a vigorous stand to bring offenders off, when persons are aimed at and in danger; and often such a stand is made, that misgovernment, instead of being checked, comes to receive a sanction. However, when you strike not so much at things as persons, though you happen to prevail, the contest begets
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such a rancour as keeps the state for a long time after divided and in dissention.

This way of reforming a state disturbs the publick peace, and the events of it are uncertain; for many great men thus questioned, have by the strength of their friends and adherents escaped popular anger, which instead of shaking has confirmed their power; but the instances are very rare of ministers that have been able to support themselves for any time, whose actions (without naming them) have received a thorough condemnation.

Perhaps nothing can more contribute to restore peace and order in a government, than to overlook the persons of men, either in contempt or in compassion, and to fall to work in earnest upon mending things. A man may without imputation of blame profess a friendship, and adhere to this or that great man, pretending to believe him innocent when accused, and consequently join with those who sort together in his defence. But can any party be formed, and can any be so insolent to go along with them who shall openly declare for such crimes, and for such and such corruption and mismanagement? Nor indeed can any thing more disappoint the ambitious and wicked designs of corrupt men, than to take away their pretences and false colours, and to leave them without excuse; which you do, when without expressing anger or prejudice to the persons of men, you make it manifest that your only aim is to put it out of their power, or out of the power of such as will tread in their steps hereafter, to bring any further mischiefs upon the commonwealth; and where these measures are taken, it is difficult, if not impossible, to form or keep up parties that shall combine to protect and countenance the vices of the age: For it being the interest of much the major part to be well governed, where the
people

people plainly see all affairs carried on calmly, and without piques, and personal enmities, they let faction drop, and the good join to suppress the bad, which union produces what may be called right and perfect government.

In the same manner crimes are justified by parties when you look too far backwards. In all councils therefore which are proposed for the better government of a country, we should not reflect too much upon what is past, but rather consider the present, and provide against the future; which perhaps might occasion the bishop of Albenga to say in the council of Trent, That good laws do look forwards only: And that he who not containing himself within the bounds of reason, endeavours to animadvert upon what is past, does ever raise tumults, and instead of reforming, makes a greater deformation.

That warmth which is required to carry on a matter of importance, must be for something present or to come. Past errors in government, most commonly like past dangers, are soon forgotten: And though examples of punishment are such necessary admonitions, that without them law itself and the lawgivers become the general subject of contempt, yet it is difficult to engage the people in prosecutions, which aim by punishing the past, to mend the future.

For they can seldom be angry in earnest but with those who are in the actual possession of power, such only being in a condition to hurt and oppress them; for which reason they are rather inclined to pity great men (whom their own voices and complaints first pulled down and humbled) than to call them to a severe account for their former actions.

And whether it be greatness of mind that leads them not to lay the unfortunate too low (which magnanimity will sometimes reach the whole body

of a people) or whether the present object only strikes their senses, and employs their care, it has been observed, that reformati^ons of the state, carried on by rigorous inquiries into past miscarriages, have been unsuccessful, and instead of mending things, have given rise to new troubles and divisions. In kingdoms where the people is divided, extreme rigours of this kind are hurtful, for they beget new ferments, and fresh motions, are apt to make the body politick bleed on, and hinder the wounds from healing: Lenity in relation to what is past, and a strict care of what is to come, may at last bring the offenders and the offended to unite in promoting the common good.

Nor is it prudent in any party to entertain such high thoughts of their own strength as to slight this moderation. For (besides that the people are in their nature subject to change, and to make sudden and unaccountable starts from one opinion to another, to hate those they loved, and to love those they hated, as the toy takes them in the head) the union, zeal, industry, and malice of a few, driven by their fears, or concerned in interest to embroil the state, is always to be apprehended. Most of the great changes and disturbances in government have been brought about by a small but active number: Proofs you have of this in all nations, and in all ages. A small number of preachers who gain by the separation, keep the dissenters from joining with the church. And are there not perpetual instances that a few have misled great councils, and that a few have been the first authors of revolt and sedition in great armies?

That which gives the few such a weight in countries that have a mixture in them of popular government, is, that if their intentions are truly honest to the publick, they have secret friends even among
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the corrupt majority, and truth, virtue, and good sense, are revered though outvoted. And if the designs of the smaller number are ambitious, corrupt, and interested, yet they so cloath them with pretences for the common good, and with the name of liberty, that very many are deceived; for whoever calls out for it with a loud voice, let his inward aims be what they will, never wants followers; for it is itself so desirable that hardly any hands are suspected by which it comes recommended. And though, as Tacitus makes the Cherusicans say, this sacred name is falsely usurped by those whose private lives are infamous, whose behaviour is dangerous to the publick; and whose condition nothing but discord and disorder can amend: "*Falso libertatis, vocabulum obtendi ab iis, qui privatim degeneres, in publicum exitiosi, nihil spei nisi per discordias habeant.*" Yet they never want adherents who have it often in their mouths though it be distant from their hearts, and though they are ready to give it up whenever they are bid what they think a sufficient price. But few nations are without such a sort of men; the prospect therefore of such a party, restless, undermining, and always at work, should keep those who seem to have the upper hand, within the bounds of moderation; for though this faction cannot perhaps overturn a state, yet they will be able to embroil it: And upon this score they should rather be allured by gentle usage, than by severities be provoked to hurt the commonwealth.

And it is seldom in large kingdoms but that there are some who are willing to be heads, though of the smaller number: It is the nature of ambition to think the command, though over but a few, great and pleasant. To qualify a man completely for this station he must first have made a very considerable figure in the court, for upon this eminence

his parts shine, there he has gained knowledge and experience in affairs of state, and there he has had opportunities of making creatures and dependents. After this he must be turned out, and in disgrace, which often creates him an interest with many of the people; in divided countries nothing being more frequent than to see the Prince's cast favourites become favourites of the vulgar; the discountenanced and weaker side being glad of all helps, especially to have a leader of importance. The two most remarkable instances of this kind were the Duke of Guise in France, and our Hubert de Burgh great justiciary of England in the reign of Henry the III^d. These from being instruments of tyranny, oppressive ministers, designing statesmen, and darlings of the court; when fortune frowned, and their power was declined, threw themselves upon the people, and became the highest objects of their affection, pretending to be the warmest assertors of their liberties. Both of them had parts, dexterity, and courage; and when men so endowed meet with matter disposed to receive bad impressions, they are able to work much mischief in a state: If they join with the strongest side, in a manner they over-run the whole; but with the weaker party they are yet in a condition to render their discontents pernicious to the publick. When those great men were discarded, their Princes had the governing part, the laws, and many of the people declaring on their sides; and both these ministers were guilty, and both deserved punishment; their machinations were manifest, their insolence was intolerable, and their pride wanted correction: But the one in France, and the other in England, found combustible materials prepared to take fire, they discerned the seeds of sedition ready to spring out, they saw factions forming, which though not considerable in their beginnings, might be

be so improved as to be a safe retreat for them, and a strong hold out of which they might securely make their own terms, and perhaps impose conditions upon regal power itself, and upon all those who were adherers to it as far as its due rights extended.

Great men by their birth, parts, wealth, eloquence, by their having been oppressed, or by any other circumstance, that recommends them to be the heads of a party, are not so dangerous in themselves as they become formidable from the disposition of the times : for which reason Machiavel says, That an ill-disposed citizen can do no great hurt but in an ill-disposed city. The persons we have cited found the ages they lived in fit for their designs. France had been agitated by the storms of two minorities, and was divided about religious matters. England for many years had been under a loose administration, out of which the weeds of faction sprouted. But had the Duke of Guise, and our Hubert de Burgh, lived in reigns where there had been a long series of good and steady government, they could not have made such a figure; they could not have had so many followers; they could not have formed so great a strength; and they could not, to the degree they did, have disturbed the peace of their respective countries: their authority, greatness and interest, might have here and there misled a few, but such adherents are an unequal match to cope with the power of a well established government; and many accidents might have intervened that would have laid them open, and by which their ambition would have been defeated.

In engaging to bear down and quite root out a faction, and in endeavouring totally to suppress its heads and leaders, respect is to be still had to the times, to the manners, and perhaps to the present humours
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of the people. If the age is uncorrupt, if the laws have their full force and vigour, or where there has been a long course of good and wise management; such an attempt may be safely made, and where persuasion will not prevail, compulsion may be used without danger; the sword of justice may be drawn upon those who will not hearken to the dictates of the law, and they whom right reason, and common utility, cannot contain within the bounds of their duty, can be kept in awe by severe examples. But otherwise where the reins of government for many years have been held with slack hands, where men have sucked in with their first milk the spirit of division, where each man has been ranked under some banner, where civil discord has had dominion for near a whole age, where it has got consistency, discipline, and order, and where men are so far from being by the laws deterred from faction, that they intrench themselves within its bulwarks, out of which they are not to be forced but with the hazard of the publick peace; there and in such cases lenitives become necessary, and where there is in a nation abundance of ill-disposed matter, and many ill men ready to work upon it, such measures in all appearance are to be taken as by degrees may bring the whole into one bottom, and to have one common interest; which course perhaps, in the event, will be found safer, than to think with a high hand to overbear, and suppress any party, because their numbers may be thought small, which their craft and industry, or peradventure the ill conduct of those in power may soon increase.

Upon the whole matter it seems highly reasonable to think that it may very much contribute towards putting an end to parties not to alarm the minds of men with angry retrospections: And in a country, long corrupted, divided at home, and hard beset abroad, rather to provide for their future security, than

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than to inquire into the authors of those calamities they labour under: Or where these inquiries are of absolute necessity, that they be made with such moderation as may imprint in the guilty sense of shame for their bad conduct, and not with such violence as may push offenders to seek impunity and safety from the strength and interest of a faction. Looking far backwards creates them who would mend things more enemies, and more opposition than they can well deal with; it is true inquisition should now and then be made into past crimes, and punishments should be thereupon inflicted, but this is to be done with great temper and caution, because experience shows us that in a vicious state examples of this nature exasperate a greater number than they tend to reform: And perhaps in these cases so much, and no more should be done, than what is just needful to assert the power and dignity of the laws, and to fix the government upon a firmer basis for the time to come. But above all things it imports those who happen to have the present administration of affairs, to be intirely passive in all these sort of inquiries. For if they oppose them, it will be thought they do it in order to future impunity for their own failings, and as intending to tread in the same steps. On the other hand, if they are active to promote such proceedings, it will be believed they do it to secure their own posts by quite trampling down those who stand in competition with them. So that when such matters are a-foot, in all appearance, the wisest, safest, and noblest course for ministers to take, is rather to prescribe severe rules to themselves for their own management, than to be any ways instrumental in having the bloody letter of the law read to those who went before them.

S E C T. VIII.

That Factions in a Kingdom are not such Diseases as admit of no Cure: Remedies proposed.

FREQUENT contemplations on the publick, and to make its prosperity one of the principal objects of our thoughts and care, conduce very much to lead us into the right paths of virtue. Almost all the vices men can be guilty of, their impiety, irregular ambition, envy, malice, lust of revenge, hypocrisy, fraud, and intemperance, do, in some measure, tend to the damage of our country, towards which, he who has brought himself to bear a true affection, is in a fair way of learning how to correct his own manners; for we are not willing to hurt what we love.

He whose mind is much bent upon the publick, will learn not to set too high a rate upon himself; a knowledge full as needful in a politick, as it is in a religious life: For, as to think but lowly of ourselves, is the first step that leads us to revere the Deity, who is in such an immense degree above us; so he who has considered of what little value his single self is compared to the whole commonwealth, will be soon brought to prefer its interest much beyond his own, and so becomes a good patriot, not by the compunction of laws, but from the dictates of his own reason.

Pride could even interrupt the harmony that was in heaven, bringing the angels to rebel against the Most High; and the first wars upon the earth seem to have taken rise from an opinion the old heroes had conceived, That either their strength of body, their wisdom, or their skill to lead armies, or their

eloquence

eloquence which could move and guide great assemblies, deserved to be rewarded with no less than sovereign empire over the rest of human kind; believing they had a right to rule those whom they so much excelled: And there being, at the same time, many persons who had the like thoughts of their own endowments, and perfections, each strove to procure to himself a strength of followers and dependents, who should be able to fight his battles; these, at last, each led into the field: Thus wars began, and thus that concord was broken, which, till nature became corrupt, was by the Creator intended to flourish among the inhabitants of the earth, who, without doubt, by him were designed to be all members and fellow-citizens of one great commonwealth, the world, which he had newly formed.

In the beginning, nations only contended with one another, but vices increasing as mankind increased, particular kingdoms and commonwealths grew to have disputes among themselves, and intestine ruptures; which still arose from the high thoughts their great men had entertained of their own merits and abilities. One could bear with no equal, another would admit of no superior; they grasp at power, and believe all courses just that lead towards it: In process of time their quarrels begin to divide the people, some take one, some the other side, and these the tools of ambition, strike so long upon one another, till at last fire comes out, and then is produced what we call civil war.

Wrong names have indeed been all along given to these wild appetites for power which have got the absolute dominion over so many great men; in some they are called the game of honour, valour, military worth, and a thirst after glory; and in others a large reach, deep policy, and unfathomed wisdom. Thus vice dressed in the robes, and adorned

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adorned with the attributes of virtue, deceives the world, and has led several famous persons to disturb their own, and the peace of mankind, whom they perswaded to follow them in their pursuits after greatness, and through all the mazes of their ambition.

But a man truly wise, and who desires no fame but what is derived from real and not appearing virtue, corrects within himself that pride, which human nature is but too apt to suggest to those who have perfections, be they of the body, or the mind, much above the rest of men: He is not vain nor presumptuous from his rare endowments: He expects the reward of his deserts from the maturity of time, and does not snatch at honours and preferments with too precipitate an ardour: If he surpasses all his fellow citizens, either in courage, or the skill of governing, this does not render him turbulent in the state; but his endeavours are rather to make the qualities he most shines in subservient to the uses of his country.

Sometimes it happens that the intire mass of blood in the body politick has received the taint, and that a whole nation is divided; to cure this distemper, the best way is for every man to mend one, and to begin with suppressing his own vain thoughts of himself, his eager chace after power and greatness, at least to keep his ambition within such bounds that it may have no bad consequences, and never be hurtful to the publick.

But for individuals, thus to reduce themselves to the terms of justice, and right reason, is a work that goes but slowly on. Human nature is too much depraved for such a self reformation; and add to this, that the disease may be at such a height, that divines and philosophers can do no good upon it. It is true, where discord reigns, the heads and

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leaders on each side might, by their authority, put an end to this madness of the people, but perhaps they may think it rather their interest, and more conducing to their designs, that it should continue.

It is very difficult, though not impossible, quite to root it out in democratical governments, as likewise in aristocracies, where most commonly, when civil dissensions are become inveterate, they terminate in making room for tyranny: But they are with much more ease to be subdued by the application of proper remedies, where a Prince holds the reins of empire, provided he has wise and honest men about him.

However it has been done both in commonwealths and monarchies. Menenius Agrippa (a man so poor, that his funeral expences were afterwards forced to be defrayed by a collection the vulgar made among themselves) was able with the single weight his virtues gave him, to reconcile the senate, and the common people, who, in a manner, resolved to break from the republick, had left the city, and were retired into the sacred mountain. Germanicus brought back to their duty his revolting legions, only by making them ashamed of their disorders; which was a mutiny of that wide extent, that had it not been appeased, it must have been followed by a civil war. And, to speak of times more modern, our Henry the VIIth, put an end to that contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, which had so long divided England. In the last age our swords were again drawn, and two mighty parties for several years contended with one another; but the breach was healed in time, the King was restored, and the people of themselves quietly returned to his obedience; which peace might have continued to this day, had honesty and wisdom been prevalent at court. There was a noble Venetian so revered
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for his age, knowledge, and the sanctity of his manners, that he alone could reclaim the Citidani from a design they had formed to destroy the whole senate. Henry the IVth of France, so rooted out the holy league, that not the smallest fibres of it were left remaining. Many more instances might be given of faction, either totally suppressed, or so restrained from any further progress, as that without new intervening accidents, it must have been at a full stop, and so had fallen of itself: But perhaps what has been offered is sufficient to shew that it is no incurable disease.

In commonwealths generally the cure is effected by the endeavours of some great man, in whose wisdom and integrity both sides acquiesce, and are therefore willing to admit of his mediation: But in monarchies it is to be wrought by the Prince's authority, by his vigorous execution of the laws, by not letting his great ones grow too powerful, by punishing vice, and rewarding virtue, by his careful looking into his own business, by his making justice and publick good, the rule of all his actions, and by keeping a strict hand over those to whom he has intrusted the ministerial part of government.

Where this has been done, Was there ever a kingdom divided within itself? It is granted, that under the greatest reigns that ever were, there have been little factions in the court; some have followed one favourite, some another; but these differences become matter of diversion to an able Prince; or suppose they give him any care, the mischief is seldom extended beyond the palace walls, and the people remain in quiet.

A great King at his first accession to the throne, if he finds dissention among his nobles, so interposes with his power as to make them friends. If by male-administration the body of the commons have
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been so soured as to become disaffected to the state, by reforming abuses, and redressing grievances, he reconciles his subjects to the crown. If in the church there has been a schism, he keeps the breach from growing wider, by recommending moderation to one side, and a peaceful spirit to the other. If he finds parties formed within his country, he presently discerns of what sort of persons they are composed: If on one hand he sees they desire no more than to be well governed, if on the other he perceives they desire misgovernment, because it makes best for them; upon such a view he joins with the good, by which the bad become so weak a side that they are no longer able to disturb affairs: But if he is convinced that both sides have corrupt aims (which often happens to be the case) by exerting his power, by frowning upon their heads and leaders, by a constant course of shewing that parties are not the road to favour, by giving proofs that he intends so to rule as not to want their aids; he disarms them of all their force, he drives them into other measures, they grow to have new thoughts, and things so mend by degrees, that at last the very name of faction is extinguished.

Thus a wise Prince proceeds upon whose head God has placed a crown, not lined with soft ermines, but full of sharp pointed thorns. He establishes a government of the laws, and not of men: His mind is fully bent upon all the different parts of his estate, religion, justice, and the care of trade: He puts an end to the profusion and corruptions of his court: He removes from the exercise of any power all such as are without virtue, or abilities, and who had no merits to recommend them but a blind obedience to whatever was commanded: He takes into his councils none but those who are of known probity, skill and experience;

men of weight and figure, not such who instead of being a help to him, he must support upon all occasions. This conduct brings a necessity upon all sides to unite under him who has a right to rule the whole; and who acts thus needs not fear that his kingdom shall be long rent asunder by divisions; but a contrary conduct, and the reverse of all this, ever did, and ever will produce faction and civil wars: For it is most evident, from the experience of all ages, and all countries, that under a kingly government, where there has been a continued series of honest, careful, and uncorrupt administration, no great man, or number of ill-affected men, could ever create such dissensions as might be able to disturb the state.

It is the interest, as well as the inclination of the people, to live in peace, and enjoy the fruits of their own labour; at least this may be said of England, for we have seldom had open breaches and divisions but they proceeded from some fatal error or weakness in those who ruled; which will evidently appear to any who takes a view of the several reigns from the Norman invasions downwards. William the Bastard, though he had the title of Edgar Atheling to struggle with, and though he was to plant strangers among the natives of this island, yet he kept it well united, during his time, by good laws and a politick establishment: For the attempt made by Edgar, in conjunction with the Scots, and with the Earls Edwin and Marchar, Hereford, Gospatrick and Syward, with the conspiracies formed afterwards by the Earls of Norfolk, Suffolk, Northumberland, and Boloign, may be rather termed insurrections than civil wars, and were soon mastered. The commotions that happened in the reign of William the II^d, were the effects of his own misgovernment, for he was sacrilegious

legious and a spoiler of his people. What his successor Henry I. wanted in title and right he made up by well governing; he punished the wicked instruments of the former reign, and took off the heaviest burthens that lay upon his subjects; conducting his affairs with such magnanimity and prudence, that his elder brother Duke Robert could never get any footing here. The next reign of King Stephen was full of storms; but by wise measures taken at first, by then contenting each degree of the people, and afterwards by his own personal valour, he held for near 19 years that scepter which of right belonged to Maud the Empress.

Henry II. would have had no troubles but that he must needs associate his son in the royal dignity, which taught his eldest, and then his other children to rebel. Richard I. spent most of his days in foreign countries, and this embroiled his realm at home. John his successor was as bad a King as ever reigned here, and no wonder the sword was unsheathed in his time; and yet to shew that allegiance to the crown is deeply imprinted in the hearts of Englishmen; this Prince, in the greatest defection of his subjects, though he was a tyrant and an oppressor, found many followers.

His son Henry III. trode much in his father's steps; was profuse, light, perfidious, and extorted from his country to enrich unworthy persons; all which misgovernment compelled the Barons frequently to appear in arms against him. His son and successor Edward I. quitted the measures of the two preceding reigns; was frugal, brave, an observer of the laws, and a lover of his people, feared abroad, and idolized in his own kingdom: It is true, Robert archbishop of Canterbury confederated with some of the great Earls and Barons, and endeavoured to raise commotions; but the Lords were

soon reduced, and that insolent prelate humbled, and at last deprived.

The fire of discord did break out again in the days of his son Edward II. a Prince, loose, effeminate, vicious, and a mere slave to those who had him in possession. His son Edward III. adorned with all princely virtues, during his long reign saw nothing but domestick peace and foreign victories: But his grandson and successor Richard II. whose noble qualities those about him had quite corrupted, in the flower of his age perished by the hands of his rebellious subjects. The succeeding Prince Henry IV. though he restored order in the commonwealth, and gave it much a better face, yet had not a reign entirely quiet; however his courage and wisdom easily defeated all the several attempts, that were made to subvert his new erected throne; whereon he placed his renowned son and successor Henry V. who conquered France, and whose reign at home was without any intestine discords.

Then followed a minority, wherein the Princes of the blood and the Barons grew too powerful. And when Henry VI. came to years of manhood, he wanted the courage and abilities that were requisite to reduce them within the bounds of duty; so that his whole life was a continued scene of civil war and bloodshed. The same of the next Prince Edward IV. maintained him in an undisturbed possession from the time his competitor fell, till his own death. Richard III. as cunning as he was wicked, reigned in peace; for the punishment that attended his inhuman cruelties, was to fall upon him all at once.

The popular commotions, which by the arts of the Duchess of Burgundy, were raised against the succeeding King Henry the VIIth, cannot properly be called civil wars: This wise and martial Prince

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did put an end to those banners of distinction, the red and white rose, under which the whole people had been so long marshalled. Perhaps it may be affirmed he laid the ax to the very root of those factions, which had disturbed most of his predecessors, by putting bounds to that mighty power which heretofore the Barons had. Whether by so doing he did not place it in hands that might yet be more uneasy to the crown, and whether he did not make the balance incline too much another way, shall not be here argued: however he provided against those mischiefs which former Kings had known, and felt, and transmitted a peaceful scepter to his son Henry the VIIIth.

The beginning of whose reign was full of glory, but the latter end of it stained with blood, tyranny, and oppression of his people; which, with the alteration he made in church affairs, at last brought on rebellions, but they were soon quelled, and the reins were in such skilful hands, and the administration in the main was so strong, and steady, that notwithstanding his sanguinary temper, the perpetual and heavy taxes he laid, and the total change he made in religion, yet no party could be raised, that by its numbers, interest, and strength, could be able to shake his throne.

Then we had another minority, which seldom fails of producing factions among the great ones; but the rare virtues of this young Prince Edward the VI. had he lived, probably would have subdued all the difficulties this kingdom laboured under, and might have settled a lasting peace both in church and state. Then followed Queen Mary, whose match with King Philip, though it gave rise to the popular commotion headed by Wyatt, yet it strengthened her; and the people were so restrained by their fears of a foreign power, within call, and

ready to oppress them in their civil, as well as in their religious rights; that though the Protestants were perhaps the stronger side, yet they durst never take up arms in their own defence, against her cruel persecutions; so that this unfortunate and bloody reign, was, all the latter part of it, without intestine jars.

Her glorious successor Queen Elizabeth, who is a pattern which Princes who intend to rule well and wisely, should ever have before their eyes: Though at home she had two opposite religions to deal with, one in possession of all offices ecclesiastical and civil, the other exasperated by the cruelties of the former reign, and justly pretended that their sufferings should be rewarded; though abroad she had to oppose the power of the Spanish monarchy, then at its height of greatness; though neither the arts nor wealth of Spain were wanting to raise and foment divisions within her kingdom: though she had a pretended title (that of the Queen of Scots) to struggle with, which was secretly favoured by the French, Spaniards, and the house of Lorraine: though she had perpetual exercises of her patience, courage, and all her other virtues: though she had enemies foreign and domestick, animated from Rome, sanguinary, cunning, and industrious; yet did she, with a mind above her sex, surmount all these difficulties. She rooted out idolatry, restored the true religion, and ruled prosperously for 44 years, during which time, she was a constant spring of help and supply to the Princes and states with whom she was in league: She supported the Protestants of France, preserved the Netherlands, and defeated the schemes laid by the house of Austria for universal empire. And all this while her people enjoyed plenty, quiet, and a far extended trade. The Commons were obedient, her authority was

awful

awful to the Lords, and the church was rent asunder by no schisms: A strict observer of her country's laws, mild to her subjects, unwilling to burthen them with taxes, always consulting their good, and her own honour; and surrounded with a set of honest and skilful ministers, whom she knew how to chuse, and was herself able to instruct. She governed with as much felicity as wisdom. As long as she lived there were no parties, no intestine broils, nor popular commotions; and neither blind zeal nor wild ambition could proceed so far as to interrupt the peace of England.

But her successor King James the Ist, through the whole course of his life, observed quite another sort of conduct. He loved peace more than suited with the honour of such a potent Prince, or than consisted with the nation's future safety. He neglected his allies, and let his enemies grow upon him. He who might himself have held the balance of Europe, courted the power of Spain. He discontented his old nobility, by his partial kindness to new men, on whom he heaped invidious wealth, offices, and honours. His unbounded profusion to favourites drove him into wants, and those wants into illegal ways of procuring money; all which tended to disaffect the gentry. Then, and not for many years till then, did parties begin to lift up their heads and shew themselves: They who were angry with the state, shook hands with those who disapproved of the state religion; some thought the laws invaded, others pretended to fear innovations in religious matters; common danger (at least so they judged it) made these have one common interest, and thus popularity and zeal entered into a firm alliance; from whence there arose a faction so strong, that it was soon able to bear down the constitution. This Prince indeed had no war at home, but the

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latter part of his life was almost one continued scene of domestick troubles; and it may be truly said, That the waste he committed in his revenues, his arbitrary proceedings, his loose government, and the corruptions of his court, laid the first foundation of all those misfortunes that afterwards befel his son.

I shall pass over in silence the 4 ensuing reigns, only with this observation, That the same causes have still produced the same effects; and that misgovernment has given birth, growth, and strength to the divisions that have been all along among us.

Whoever looks into the lives of all the Princes I have here mentioned will see, That as many of them as ruled well and wisely, were blessed with peace at home, and victories abroad; and that they who did either ill perform, or totally neglect the duties of their high office, or who did intrust the guidance of the chariot to unsteady, furious, or unskilful hands, were never without popular insurrections, or such intestine broils as made the crown sit, at least, uneasily upon their heads, if it was not thereby quite ravished from them.

But they who more especially contemplate the 5 last reigns from King James the Ist, downwards, will find the very seeds from which factions spring up and spread: When the Prince himself rules amiss; when they to whom the executive part of power is committed, and who are called the government, invade the people in their civil rights; or, when the ministers burthen them with taxes; when this treasure is embezzled; when they rob the publick to enrich themselves; when they neglect its honour and safety, and when all this begins to provoke loud murmurs, to defend such male-administration, and to be fortified against inquiries, courts think it needful to form a party. On the

other

other hand, they who are hurt by any illegal exertions of power, coming either from the Prince, or from his ministers; they who find there is reason to be jealous of their liberties; they who feeling the weight of heavy taxes, are desirous, that what is raised should be well employed, and are therefore willing to call those to an account, whom they believe enriched with the plunder of their country: They who grow to fear some publick ruin, when they see affairs loosely, negligently, or perhaps treacherously managed, and so think it requisite to unite for their own preservation: These all together compose another party.

Thus not a few busy heads (whom the laws can ever reach, and lay low enough, when there is no real occasion of complaint) but weak Princes, and weak ministers, bring a nation to be divided; and thus in most places factions take their rise. Nor is there a spirit of sedition raging more at certain times than at others, as some are so foolish to imagine; but it is a disease proceeding from natural causes, and which wise and good government will always cure.

It is true, in all states there will be some to find fault right or wrong, who will make work where there is none, and who, to render themselves necessary, will ever be finding out some distemper or other in the body politick. “*Tanquam artifices improbi, opus quærunt, qui et semper ægri aliquid esse in republica volunt; ut sit ad cujus curationem a vobis adhibeantur.*” This was said by Appius Claudius of the seditious Tribunes of his time. But where the administration is sound and blameless, the factions such men can raise are but short lived, and their clamours will soon be silenced.

When we consider how safe, easy, and pleasant it is to govern well, we may wonder how it has happened

happened that many Princes on whom there was bestowed a large share of understanding, came to rule amiss; but the reason is plain, they had not minds honestly disposed, and they wanted that softness in nature which inclines good men to love and cherish their fellow creatures, and to take delight in seeing mankind thrive and prosper: Or pride, which is but too apt to insinuate itself into hearts not fully replete with virtue, might induce several men of great capacities, such as were Tiberius, Lewis the XIth of France, and our Henry the VIIIth, to think that the people are no better than the food of power to be devoured out of necessity, or in wantonness, according to their pleasure: Or such thoughts might fall into the head of a single person, intoxicated with sovereign empire, and by custom and the laws rendered sacred; fed with this opinion might he not be wrought to give his irregular appetites a freer course, and to have the less regard in what manner he ruled his subjects?

But why did the lower wheels of government ever go wrong? What could move ministers of state to act amiss? Why have so many of them loved confusion more than order, crooked and stony roads rather than beaten and easy paths, and to do by tricks what might better have been brought about in the plain ways of dealing? Why have they often taken measures so visibly destructive, quite abandoning all care of their Prince's happiness or honour? What has made such a number of them eager to run into all his worst inclinations, and unwilling to cultivate any seeds of goodness and virtue that were in him? Why have they liked he should be rather effeminate than brave, profuse than frugal, vicious than temperate, careless than vigilant, crafty than wise, faithless than sincere, and more an oppressor than a lover of his people?

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How came it to pass that we have seen so many of them contrive that the publick should rather be poor than rich, weak than strong, putting things upon such a foot as they could not be supported by true wisdom, and by nothing but false arts? Why under almost every Prince have they chosen to perplex and embroil his affairs, instead of letting him enjoy a prosperous quiet reign? Why have they all along encouraged divisions, instead of promoting that concord which must make a nation flourish? And more especially in the last age, Why have both Princes, and their ministers, thought it impossible to rule without what they called a party for the court?

The reason of all this sort of conduct in our men of business is apparent: There was a foul game playing in England for many years, which required a ministry, such as has been here described; and bad ministers were to endeavour at making the Prince worse than they found him, or they could not hope long to keep their ground; for any return he made to right sense, and his true interest, was to them fatal; in their councils therefore they did not so much consult what was for the publick good, as what would most please his mind and temper, giving to his nature still a wronger bent; if he hated war, they plunged him in all the riots of peace, and extinguished in him all the thoughts of honour; if he affected power, they drove him to overthrow the laws; if negligent, they brought him to abhor the very name of business; if cunning, they made him dishonest; if amorous, they let him be abandoned in his pleasures. In the same manner they corrupted all his virtues; if he was devout, they made him superstitious; if liberal, lavish; if martial, they fed that humour without any regard how far the country was able to supply these sallies of his ambition.

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But above all things they desired to have affairs embroiled; publick wants and an indebted exchequer, being then in no danger of rivals and competitors, and the field was more open to them; for wise and honest men would not be willing to enter upon an administration so corrupted and perplexed, nor to contend for employments in the state with a sort of men who, the worse matters grew, had indeed the faster hold.

They introduced the distinction of a court side, not that the Prince wanted such a help, but they wanted his countenance and fellowship in what they were doing; and fomented divisions, because in a divided kingdom they governed, and not their master, whose authority stood all the while as it were suspended; for though he had the attributes of power, the true and essential exercise of it was usurped by those who did head and lead the parties.

It is to be feared this was the case of England for many years: And is it not the duty of a good Prince to put an end to these disorders which eclipse the royal name, deprave the manners of inferior people, infect the principles of the better sort, and render government unsafe, difficult, expensive and precarious?

But Machiavel seems to be of an opinion that the circumstance of the times may be such as to make it dangerous to tread in the best path. "That
" hatred is obtained two ways, by good works and
" bad, and that therefore a Prince willing to retain
" his authority, is often compelled to be bad. For
" if the chief party (whether it be people, army, or
" nobility) which you think most useful, and of
" most consequence to you for the conservation
" of your dignity, be corrupt, you must follow
" their humour and indulge them, and in that case
" honesty and virtue are pernicious."

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This doctrine may perhaps be good for a tyrant to observe (who is indeed at bottom no better than a slave to his army, to the rabble, or to the great ones, who made him what he is) he may be bound to follow in all their vicious appetites, them upon whom his power depends; but it is quite otherwise where there is liberty, and where the laws have any force; for in such countries, though vice may have obtained a strong dominion, yet the Prince who is desirous to reform the state, to root out that corruption from whence disorder springs, and to cure the various mischiefs it produces, will always find a part of the people left still untainted, willing, and of strength sufficient, to support such endeavours as shall be made to restore the body of the commonwealth to it's former beauty, health and vigour.

It is true, where there has been a long series of mismanagement; where immense debts have been contracted through negligence and profusion; where frugality for the publick has been long derided as unpolitick; where the affairs of our navy have been neglected to a degree as if England was not at all to depend upon it's fleets; where naval discipline has been so new modeled that our antient bravery at sea is almost forgotten; where crimes of any nature have been sheltered by parties; where the people have been taught they are above their representatives; where impiety has been suffered to face the national religion, and criminals to brave the laws; where faction has been fed, cherished and pampered at court as a favourite, instead of being frowned upon, rated, and thrust out of doors as the froward, deformed, and misbegotten issue of a wicked age: In a country where all this has been done, it must be the work of time, the result of prudence, and the effect of courage, to eradicate distempers so deeply rooted: To bring order out
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of such confusion, to mend what is so much defaced, and to subdue a monster that has so many mouths, hands and heads.

But we have instances in our own, and the history of other kingdoms; That Princes have recovered commonwealths labouring under diseases far more desperate than ours can be said to have upon it, and who have restored bodies politick to sound health, when by long civil wars almost all their vital blood had been exhausted.

Though we may be sick, it is to be hoped none of the noble parts are yet affected. We are adventurous and skilful in trade, by which both the crown and people are supported. We have a rich soil, and shall have a powerful navy. Learning and arts flourish among us; we have an innate valour that is dreadful to our enemies. We have wealth wherewithal to defend ourselves, with something left to assist our friends. We enjoy a constitution, though perhaps far from being perfect, however such a one as may render a nation great and happy. We are zealous for our religion, without the spirit of persecution, which in time must add to us a strength from other countries. Our divisions at home have not yet made us contemptible abroad; for all States and Princes court us: And it is manifest, we alone have hitherto interrupted those designs the French had formed for universal empire.

Since therefore we have none of those inward decays which are so visible in governments that are declining; since nature still is strong within us, able to exert itself, and work its own cure, with the application of needful helps and remedies; since our distempers proceed from ill regiment, and as it were a bad and unwholesome diet in politicks, and by having too much tampered with state empricks; and since the high fevor of faction seems a little to abate:

abate: It is to be hoped things may so mend by degrees, that England out of debt, increasing in wealth, growing more powerful at sea, warlike, full of domestick peace, and foreign reputation, may be the head of the protestant interest, hold the ballance of Europe, and be in a condition to defeat the councils, and oppose the strength of France.

Whoever looks into the affairs of this kingdom, will soon discern from whence all our uneasiness, heats, divisions, animosities, and at last civil wars did take their rise: For though islanders have been of old noted as of an inconstant temper, impatient of rule, and turbulent, yet it has not been so with us; we were ever quiet under a right administration; and whenever a wise Prince assisted with good ministers has found us inflamed at the mis-government of a former reign, he has been always able to appease the people, make the great men agree, and to reduce them to terms of duty, without being compelled to use the hammer of war to bring all into a better shape.

The matter and occasion of discord here, has chiefly been when national interest was neglected; when the Prince and his ministers have aimed at arbitrary rule; when changes in religion have been attempted, or when tender consciences were under persecution; when the publick treasure was so wasted as to bring heavy pressures upon the people; when the executive part of power was impotently, and negligently, or unjustly managed; when the Prince took into his councils, and employed in all the principal business of the state, men odious, contemptible, obscure, weak, or corrupt; and, as it were, driving from the throne such as were conspicuous, and had skill, experience, and parts joined with virtue. Many more errors there have been in government that might produce heart-burnings, murmurs, and
discontent,

discontents, which were rarely followed with open breaches; but if any of the main wheels were broken, the whole engine was out of order, and ready to fall in pieces.

Thus King James the Ist, by favouring the house of Austria, and by thinking to fortify the crown with foreign aids, and a high marriage, lost the affections of his people, to a degree, that a party formed itself in the house of commons during his life, which increasing daily, came at last to have strength enough to wrest the scepter from his son: And the wounds that were healed upon the restoration of King Charles the IId, opened afresh when it was seen he so far neglected the interest of England, as to connive at, if not assist the growth of France.

A few innovations in religious matters, proceeding more from folly than any bad design, and too warm a desire for unity and conformity in the church, which the great prelates, and weak politicians of those times, believed might be brought about by persecution, gave rise to that party which began the last civil war: And in our own days we have seen how fatal invading the religion of his country proved to King James the IId; a Prince who had many virtues, and whom his worst enemies could not justly charge with any material fault in government, but what he was first led into by superstition.

Again, under some Princes, the commonwealth has been tormented with a complication of diseases, as in the reigns of King John, Henry the IIIId, Edward the IId, and Richard the IId, in whose times arbitrary power was pushed on with violence; the revenues of the crown were wasted; the laws wanted their authority and execution; and all the offices and dignities of the state were polluted by the meanest and most corrupt hands; upon which followed popular commotions, parties formed
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amongst the barons and great men, and at last, total defections of the kingdom.

Princes who avoid the rocks here described (upon which many have been so apt to run) and who steering a better course, consult the honour, and promote the interest of their country; who affect no more power than is allowed them by the constitution; who make the established religion their principal concern, and yet are indulgent to the weakness of those who cannot comply with it: They who for the publick good, are frugal of the publick treasure, who have watchful eyes to see that the executive part of power is well and steadily performed, and who take care to be served by honest and able ministers: Princes ruling so, though fortune may not always second their just intentions, and noble designs; though to exercise their virtues they may meet with disasters, troubles, and disappointments; and though they must expect to find fierce opposition in their attempts to reclaim a country whose manners have been long depraved, yet success will at last crown their endeavours: And such a Prince shall be revered at home, and respected in foreign nations, and of course will have faithful and knowing ministerial officers, upright judges, a religious clergy, valiant soldiers, bold and enterprizing fleets, wise parliaments, dutiful subjects, and a kingdom so well united, that not so much as the name of faction shall be heard within its limits.

When a kingdom happens to be divided, its breaches are not to be healed by complying with the avarice or ambition of here and there a man, who is thought to make a figure in his party; in his room another starts up, who soon grows as considerable; he must be likewise taken off: And when this appears to be the game, who is there that will not be playing at it as far as his parts extend? When he that can shew himself enough in anger, is

sure of being pleased, will not every one think it high time to be discontented? Who does not strive to enter that way, when a court opens this gate to favour, since the passage is wide and easy? For is there any one so unqualified, but that at least he can make a noise? And where is there a state that has offices and preferments enough for such as deserve well? much less for all those who believe it to be merit sufficient, that they are able to give opposition. But if some are rewarded for so doing, does it not instruct others to take the same course? And where faction becomes the only road to power and greatness, is it ever to be extinguished?

Princes who would enjoy quiet and happy reigns, are never to attempt getting over such proselytes; it is a dangerous, expensive, and an endless labour. Nor indeed should they court parties themselves collectively considered, unless it be by the noble arts of ruling well. For in what does the strength of parties consist? Without doubt in their interest with the common people. And are the vulgar easily to be incited against a Prince whose government is without reproach? On the other hand, can male-administration be long supported by the voices of a party, whatever it's numbers seem to be? When things are bad, faction will be powerful; when they are well governed it can do no hurt; and the whole body of the people range themselves about the throne to guard it against the assaults of wicked and designing men.

Where there are divisions, to take in the bad of both sides, as most dangerous and active, is properly what may be called the trimming game, which is a course full of difficulties, and yet generally followed by those who intend to rule amiss. But to shine upon, and countenance men of real worth and merit, without distinction of what side they are, or have been, is what they do who for their conduct

propose

propose a juſter ſcheme, and cannot be accounted trimming, but deſerves much a better name; which is that of prudent moderation. For a Prince to court none but the bad, is the effect of unſteady craft driven to the wall and then thoroughly frightened; but to receive all the good with impartial kindneſs, is the reſult of bold virtue, and of ſettled wiſdom.

I have endeavoured in this part of theſe diſcourſes to ſhew the original of factions, and that they are not ſuch diſeaſes as admit of no cure; for as maladies contracted by bad diet, are removed by a more wholeſome regiment in living; ſo the diſtempers of a commonwealth which firſt aroſe from male-adminiſtration, are to be healed by good government; but to mention here all the various parts of which it conſiſts, to open the remedies, and ſhew what is to be ſhunned, and what embraced, would ſwell this ſection to too great a length.

Though the invaſion of property was one of the principal ingredients in the differences that were heretofore between the King and People, there will be nothing ſaid upon that topick, becauſe we have had few diſputes of this nature for theſe laſt 40 years. I ſhall therefore confine myſelf to thoſe particular points, which of late have been, and in future times may be the bones of diſcord, and ſeem the moſt peculiar matter for faction to work upon: And they are national intereſt, arbitrary power, religion and liberty of conſcience, management of the publick treaſure, the executive power, and the conduct of miniſters. I ſhall endeavour to ſhew in the ſix following ſections what rocks and ſhelves are to be avoided, that ſteering the right, and not taking the wrong courſe, but keeping to the rules of legal and wiſe government, will by degrees put an end to parties in a kingdom.

S E C T. IX.

Of persuing National Interest.

NOTHING can more displease a people than to find their Prince devoted to an interest opposite to that of his own kingdom, especially if they see him contribute to make another great, whose greatness must be their ruin. Machiavel lays it down for a rule seldom or never subject to exception; that in matters of empire, "Whoever is the cause of another's advancement, is the cause of his own diminution." One nation cannot increase in power without apparent danger to its neighbours; for Ambition was never known to set itself any bounds. A King who remains unarmed, sits still, and suffers another country to enlarge its dominions, shews a mean courage; than which nothing is more odious to the multitude, who love valour in a Prince, though it be unsuccessful. By what is here advanced, it is not meant he must always head his army (though that is popular) but there is a bravery in council as well as in action; and Queen Elizabeth was thought to have as stout a heart as any of the Plantagenets. Sovereigns therefore who would shine, and attract the love of their subjects, when the rest of the world is in motion must not be passive lookers on; they must make a figure, and have a share in all affairs abroad, or they can hardly give content at home. But they who instead of taking these measures, assist their enemies, further their ambitious aims, and furnish them with the means and opportunity of oppressing any part to which they please to bend their force, minister just causes of suspicion, that a Prince acting so is in another bottom, and meditates some design, either to change the

the religion, or invade the liberties of his country; that he places his hopes, not in the affections of his people, but in foreign aids; and from hence endless jealousies arise, and thus a kingdom comes to be divided.

For a King of England never to court the growing power, but rather to throw himself with all his weight into the lighter scale, is the most magnanimous, the easiest in relation to his own government, and upon the whole perhaps the safest course to take; if it succeeds he is at the top of glory, and if it occasions high taxes the subjects murmur not; if misfortunes come, they meet them with quiet minds: And whether it be our natural fierceness which leads us to attack what is strongest; or whether it be the care we take to maintain our freedom, but in all times we have been less anxious in our own calamities than at the growth of any foreign state; we could never bear it: In short, to oppose it is what the people best like, who in things reasonable and honest are always to be pleased.

Spain was, and France is now this formidable power, which united becomes still more dangerous; and all our thoughts are to be employed: no expence within our compass is to be spared, and we must turn all our councils to prevent the mischiefs threatened to the rest of Europe from this conjunction.

Rivalship in trade may make us now and then quarrel with the United Provinces, but we are soon reconciled: And as the legate from King Philip said in an assembly of the Ætolians; "*Leves ad tempus ortæ causæ disjungunt conjunguntque:*" Slight occasions may separate and again unite us and them. But our hatred to France is ancient, hereditary, and peradventure will be perpetual: "*Natura enim quæ perpetua est, non mutabilibus*

“ in diem causis hostes sunt.” A Prince therefore that would be happy, and ministers who would be safe, must always keep aloof from that court. Even in times of peace their behaviour towards it must be jealous, cool and cautious : They must watch every step the French make. When differences happen between the two crowns, they are rather to lead, than follow any inclinations the people seem to have of coming to an open rupture with that kingdom ; and when there is actual war, the whole state is to exert itself with it's utmost vigour.

In former reigns steering a course quite opposite to this, produced heats, divisions, and animosities : But when they who govern here are seen to act sincerely for their country, when it becomes manifest that they neither fear nor flatter the power of that aspiring empire ; that they equally despise it's pensions, and it's arms ; that all the provisions are made, which can be expected from human prudence, to break it's measures, and oppose it's growth ; when in order to this no endeavours are wanting, and no expence spared to carry on the war, to maintain former treaties, and to form new alliances ; when the whole conduct of the court is this way irreproachable, will not murmurs, at least upon this topick, cease ? And will not such a general consulting true national interest go a great way towards putting an end to what has been called a court and country party ?

S E C T. X.

Of Arbitrary Power.

MEN are so different in their notions concerning royal power, that they are apt to quarrel about it, though the Prince does not concern himself in the question, and even though he be careless to preserve what is allowed him by the constitution. Some think he never has enough, others that he cannot have too little; and this variety of their opinions proceeds from the various application of their studies: They whose view is no farther extended than the last age, and who only consider to what a pitch of greatness an usurped dominion, not circumscribed by laws, did lately bring, first the Spanish, and then the French monarchy, will be imbibed with arbitrary principles. On the other hand, they who contemplate nothing but ancient times, and the commonwealths of Greece and Rome, are apt to carry the thoughts of liberty too far, and to form to themselves schemes for ruling the world, of which mankind is no longer capable: Either of these extremities is to be avoided; the one leads to tyranny, the other to confusion; and as things commonly are ill governed where the Prince has too much power, so where he has too little, in process of time, there will be no government at all. A good patriot should desire to be no freer than the laws of his country make him, and such freedom he ought always to assert. And as some Princes, by grasping at too great a power, have lost their crowns, so subjects, by aiming at unbounded liberties, have been reduced to bondage.

Since the chief end of government is protection, wise men in all their councils, are to follow such a

middle course, That as the regal authority should not be wound up so high as to be able to oppress, so on the other hand, that it be not reduced so low as to be unable to defend the people.

But though this middle way be easy, pleasant and full of flowers, yet for this last age our Princes have not delighted to walk in it, but have chosen rather to look out for paths rocky, and choaked up with thorns, where they and their blind guides have been bewildered.

And though several of those ministers who did most endeavour to whet the sword of arbitrary power, sunk under it themselves; and though others of them were in danger to perish by it, and must perhaps have felt its edge, had they not been preserved by those laws they would have overthrown; yet the game has been still played on; nor have the punishments of some deterred others, but as one fell, another mounted on the stage, with the same intentions to make their master absolute; and by these struggles in defence of right, against the attempts of wicked and designing statesmen, this commonwealth has been often brought to the very brink of ruin.

How comes it to pass, that the most valiant and wisest of our Kings were the greatest friends to liberty? As Henry the Ist and IId, Edward the Ist, and Edward the IIIId, Henry the IVth and Vth, and Queen Elizabeth, who victorious abroad, obeyed at home, and uncompelled, gave us the best and soundest laws for its preservation. Whereas the weakest and worst of our Princes, such as King John, Henry the IIIId, Edward and Richard the IId, to whom power was least to be trusted, desired it most, and invaded all our civil rights. The reason of this is plain; a Prince truly brave, judges that his enemies, not his subjects, ought to feel his valour,

valour, which is shewn, not in civil, but in foreign wars; and he who is truly wise, knows the constitution, and the inbred reverence we bear to Sovereigns, invest them with as much authority as is needful for those who have no other meaning than to govern well; but weak and ill Princes affect arbitrary rule, that they may do mischief more securely: Their fears make them cruel, their profusion brings them into want, and want throws them upon oppression, which they think to uphold by force; misgovernment drives them from bad into worse hands, until at last both the Prince, and such as he makes use of, begin to think themselves unsafe, unless they can set up absolute dominion, which from time to time has been attempted; but liberty, the more it has been shaken, has all along taken the deeper root; while the crown, instead of getting, has still lost ground by these pernicious councils.

Ambitious Kings may pretend, that they desire to be great only to be the abler to do good; that they would extend their power, but in order to enlarge the limits of their empire; that mighty actions cannot be wrought by one who is encumbered with the delays, jealousies, humours, and often bad arts of a popular assembly; that secrecy and dispatch are never to be expected but where all authority is intrusted to a single person; that a limited rule may preserve itself, and feed near home, but cannot soar out and seek for prey abroad.

Somewhat of this may perhaps be true; but a people that would continue free, must have such a form of government as is calculated, not for increase, but preservation: And therefore England, to whom foreign conquests are neither desirable, nor safe, has ever been uneasy when the prerogative was stretched; and to see arbitrary measures taken, has been always matter of discord and division here:

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And we are become more watchful and suspicious, from what we have seen done of late years in Spain and France; where encroachments on liberty were soon followed with invasions made upon their properties.

However, as tenacious as we are, and ought to be in this point, such of our Princes as had the skill not to seek after power, have had it thrown upon them: Was Henry the VIIIth himself more absolute than his daughter Queen Elizabeth? And yet to arrive at this high authority, she broke through none of our laws and customs; but the unlimited dominion she had erected, was not over the bodies, but in the hearts of all her people: Whatever she asked was granted, whatever she did pleased; acts of state that in another would have been disrelished, were in her applauded; because all her actions were thought to proceed from a mind intirely devoted to the publick good.

A Prince who lets the laws govern, will be often called upon, and invited to assist the laws with his prerogative: The methods he takes for the safety or advantage of his subjects, will not be censured: He will want no power that is requisite for the maintenance of his own dignity, or the protection of his people. Thus all the effects of supreme and unlimited authority, which Kings so much covet, he will have without murmur or opposition; the less he aims at, the more will be devolved upon him; and if to act without controll be arbitrary power, he will have it; because all he does is received with approbation. His reign will be smooth, his person feared and loved; they who serve him will have their due respect and weight; his kingdom will be without divisions, and they who are desirous to find fault with the administration of affairs, will be a faction thin in numbers, silent and unregarded.

S E C T. XL.

Of Religion and Liberty of Conscience.

MACHIAVEL attributes all the Roman greatness, to the care Numa took in seasoning the minds of that warlike people with the notions of religion, which was so useful to the governing of armies, to the uniting of the people, to the keeping men good, and to the deterring them from being bad; insomuch that he says they were more obliged to Numa, than to Romulus their founder. He adds; That one of the first causes of that city's felicity was religion, in regard it produced good laws; good laws, good fortune; and good fortune a good conclusion to whatever they undertook. That Princes and commonwealths who would keep their government intire and uncorrupt, are above all things to preserve religion in its veneration; for that in the whole world there is not a greater sign of imminent ruin, than when God and his worship are despised: That the personal piety of the Prince avails but little; for when he dies it is forgotten: That his example does indeed some good, but he must endeavour to establish it in the hearts of his whole people, and then it will last.

It is no wonder that impiety got ground in a country, corrupted as England was by a long civil war; where of one side their loose lives who fought to defend the church; and on the adverse side their hypocrisy who pretended to be purer than their neighbours, did both together give great occasion to the enemies of the Lord to blaspheme; and more especially when all this was followed with the reign of a Prince, who being a secret Roman Catholick, might perhaps be glad enough to see the reformed religion

religion brought into contempt through their vices who made profession of it.

However, in that reign irreligion was not countenanced by the state; at court it was more in practice than in doctrine: Atheism did not walk barefaced, it had no open advocates, it was not a recommendation; if any man was blotted with it it was a bar to his preferment; he might be admitted into the pleasures and riots of the palace, but he was not employed in any serious business. And they who desired to rise in the world, if they had no true piety, were obliged at least to take upon them its appearances; so that it was not held in derision by the great ones in such a degree as utterly to deprave the manners of the common people.

And the measures King James the II^d took to change the religion of his country, roused up fresh zeal in the minds of all sorts of men; they embraced more straitly what they were in fear to lose: Courtiers did thrust themselves into the presence to quit their offices, rather than be brought to do what might prejudice the church of England. Nor had the licentious way of living in fleets and armies shaken our seamen and soldiers in their principles; they all stood firm. The clergy shewed themselves prepared to die with, or for their flocks, and managed the controversial parts of divinity with primitive courage and admirable learning; the churches were every where crowded, and the prospect of persecution, though peradventure at some distance, begot devotion.

But as soon as this danger was past, we forgot the God by whose goodness we had been preserved, and impiety began again to erect its head; and with more boldness than in any former age.

In great changes of government, or revolutions, all sects of religion, and all the various factions in
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the state, are in new motion; each thinking the season then proper to make some attempt towards their own establishment. If of these there are many (which often happens to be the case) each thinks at first by its own strength to be superior to all the rest, but in this they soon find themselves deceived; and then the weaker join themselves to those who are thought more powerful, till it begins to look as if there were perhaps but two different religions, and two parties in the state; but though they are thus united in appearance, all of them have their distinct aims, and each retains its first hopes, which were to have the upper-hand at last. And at the same time the different sects in religion intermix with the several parties in the kingdom, and all apply themselves to that side which they think most willing or most able to protect them.

Thus they who are enemies to revealed religion (if they may be called a sect) and they who were possessed with the impracticable notions of a commonwealth in England (if they are enough to be termed a party) herded at first together; but being sensible of their own weakness, and how unable they were to carry on their cause, they joined themselves to a faction then beginning to form itself, whose pretences for a while were fair and specious, but who afterwards came to meditate other designs, and whose majority was well supported, resolute and active.

And all these growing to have one common interest, came at last to favour and bear out one another. It is true, they who were thought to have a republican tincture were the first that deserted so bad a side; but the other two parties, viz. they who would innovate in divine, and they who in worldly matters meant to govern corruptly, continued all along under the strictest ties of mutual

aids and friendship: From this union, and out of this forge, issued those impious books, published not many years ago, arraigning all the most sacred mysteries of revealed religion; which blasphemies when our posterity shall read, they will remain astonished to find no punishment of their authors recorded in our courts ecclesiastical or civil.

If any of the great men then in power did countenance these attempts made upon the Divine Majesty, they were but bad politicians, and did ill consult the welfare and safety of their Prince; to whose sacred person the religion of the people is far a better defence than fleets and armies.

If they who promote innovations of this kind could shew us either in themselves, or in their disciples, that morality and virtue increase as the Christian religion loses ground; they would have something to say in their own excuse: But on the contrary, since the people have been poisoned with these old heresies new vamped up; they abound more than ever in perjury, circumventions of one another, frauds, extortions, evil faith, corruption, bribery, and impurities scarce heard of here till of late: And for these last 15 years, vice has hurried on in a course more precipitate than it was wont to do before in this northern climate.

And though peradventure it may be a long time before atheism and irreligion can have so many followers, as to be able, by their strength and numbers, to disturb a state; yet it cannot be improper to touch upon this subject, when I am laying out the general methods by which the spirit of discord may be allayed; because dissensions, faction, and civil wars, are some of the rods wherewith God is used to execute his vengeance upon a profane and wicked country.

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Princes therefore, who would rule happily, and over a well united people, are bound by the duty of their high office, and that superior duty they owe to their Creator, to apply remedies to this dangerous poison, by which, from small beginnings, great multitudes of men have been heretofore infected: They should punish with the utmost rigour all such as endeavour to spread it: They should receive none into their service whom they think tainted with it; the fruit of which will be quickly seen; for, in many, it is rather affectation of pretended wit or deep learning than any grounded principle; and they will soon lay it aside when they perceive it is discountenanced, frowned upon, and handled with severity by those who govern.

When Princes have thus rooted out this venomous weed, in the room of it they are to plant true piety and sincere devotion. Not content with their own zeal for religion, their sanctity of life, and all their other Christian virtues; they are to use their utmost care to bring their subjects to be as near approaching to their own perfections as possibly they can, and as far as they are imitable; and to make those, over whom they reign, as meek, chaste, compassionate, charitable and religious, as they themselves are. But towards all this, their personal examples operate but slowly; they are therefore to interpose with the regal power in the suppression of vice and immoralities, not by speeches only, to amuse the vulgar (as formerly was practised) nor by faint edicts, forgotten as soon as published, but by obliging the magistrates to put the laws in stricter execution, and by noting with infamy, the highest marks of their displeasure, all within their reach, whom they know to lead vicious and immoral lives; and by advancing and shining upon such who they see tread in the right paths of virtue.

But as a matter of principal importance, their wisdom is to be exercised in providing that the temple be not profaned by the intrusion of unclean things or persons. When the chief Prelates are without learning, blemished in their private lives, not given to hospitality, too careful in their worldly concerns, unsound in their doctrine, flatterers, and time-servers, they lose their weight, and that authority which they ought to have over the inferior clergy; who when this check is no longer upon them, are apt to run into excesses of all kinds. They exceed in ignorance and debauchery, simony creeps in among them, they neglect their cures, they grow litigious with their neighbours, vicious in their manners, immoral in their dealings, and a scandal to their profession; all which tends to produce schisms in the church: For it is natural to separate from those who do not fortify their doctrine by the example of their own lives; and there are few separations from the established religion of a country, which had not their beginnings from the ignorance and vices of the priesthood.

And it being most apparent, that schisms in the church will intermingle with factions in the state; that is, they who are prejudiced against the church, will join with those who are prejudiced against the state; and since bad Prelates will have a bad clergy; since a bad clergy occasions schisms; and since schisms in religion help to heighten faction, it must certainly import Princes (who would preserve union in their kingdoms) to have the ecclesiastical part of government in wise, learned, and pious hands; and where this care is taken, it has a general good influence upon whatever has relation to the publick.

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When the bench of Bishops is thus filled; when they have learning to confute their adversaries; when they instruct by example more than precept; when they have courage mixed with prudence, and zeal tempered with a spirit of peace, they give a greater lustre to parliaments; they strengthen the royal dignity; they beget devotion in the people at home, and abroad they gain proselytes to the reformed religion.

All things, as well bad as good, thrive as they are favoured by Princes; if they promote, or but wink at vice, it increases; if they shine on virtue it prospers. Numa, in a few years, introduced sanctity of manners among a band of robbers, out-laws, and revolted slaves; for of such did Rome consist at first. No plant grows faster by cultivation than piety, and this does not only hold in general, but in particulars; even superstition is hardly to be avoided, if a King is addicted to it. But when Sovereigns, by their own principles, are intirely firm to the interest and religion of the church established within their kingdom, and consequently are inclined to countenance those who have the truest zeal to support it, a church so encouraged can never fail to flourish.

And this church appears to be upon a firm foundation, when its future security has been as far consulted by the government as lay within the reach of human wisdom, by excluding for ever all Papists from the royal scepter; when all possible measures are taken both by the Prince and the ministers to fix it perpetually in a line of Protestant successors; and when the whole body of the people concur so unanimously with their rulers, in resolving to maintain this limitation of the crown.

As the religion of the church of England (if they who profess it live up to its doctrine) is the purest,

so it seems to agree best with the nature of our constitution; it has not that blind superstition which is necessary to those who are born under a tyranny; nor is it so impatient of all sort of forms, as to think even kingly government but a ceremony, needless and expensive to the people. The reformati^ons abroad were most of them begun in popular commotions, and relishing too much of anarchy, suit best with governments merely popular: Whereas ours began and was compleated by the regal authority, retaining still a tincture of that mixed or moderate government, under which it was first modelled, and therefore our ecclesiastical discipline seems most agreeable to such a political institution as we enjoy, which is a monarchy bounded by the laws.

So that considerations purely divine abstracted, for indisputable reasons of state, and by the rules of policy, Princes who respect the present or future happiness and peace of their dominions, are to promote and encourage the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, and to countenance such whose zeal, and real opinion lead them to adhere firmly to it; as having always been the truest friends to the legal constitution of this country: For as of one hand, they have not such extended notions of liberty, as to render government difficult, if not impracticable; so on the other side, of late years, they gave an instance that they did not think themselves so bound by their doctrine of passive obedience, but that they could shake it off, when they saw it made use of by their Sovereign, to introduce arbitrary power, and undermine religion.

The throne is not to be defended by giddy multitudes, nor by the strength of parties, who are more at the devotion of their own heads, and leaders,

leaders, than of their Prince; it is to be guarded by those who act upon a steady principle of duty, virtue and honour: Nor has the regal authority any other solid basis to rest upon but the church, whose body is composed of the Lords spiritual and temporal, the gentry, the clergy, the richest merchants, and the most substantial freeholders of this realm.

But the piety of Princes, and their care of the established religion, ought never to raise up a spirit of persecution in those who are favoured and countenanced. The returns indeed of power are commonly followed with a return of its excesses. But a wise government is to restrain this, and so to interpose, that one side may have no well grounded cause to repine at the other's prosperity: Nor is it impossible to make affection in the Prince to the established church, and liberty of conscience consist together.

One side is to be indulged in its just pretences, but to be checked in all its passions, and withheld whenever it offers to pass the bounds of reason: As one side deserve favour, the other have a right to protection, as subjects, and as men, not to have their consciences restrained, perhaps they have a natural right which human laws are not to alter.

But some who are fully persuaded in their minds that they maintain the cause of God, and his true religion, are apt to think they can never carry it on with too high a hand, and so are brought to deviate from the doctrine of their sacred Master, who came into the world to teach the ways of peace. And from misguided zeal have flowed those acts of force, which here, and in other countries, the church from time to time has used to bring the whole people within its pale; and

these methods have been all along thought expedient, just and pious.

But though the cause of God is thus pretended, is not the corruption of nature at the bottom of all this? Have not the best of men still retained so much human frailty that they are loath to take the pains of subduing sects and heresies by their own piety, charity, devout lives, painful preaching, and holy examples? And do not they desire to use power and force, the arms of flesh, because they are not strong enough in virtue to wield spiritual arms? And has not all this been the original of persecution?

And to shew it is not of God, it does not stand: Where has it ever compassed the ends proposed? In what nation has it proved successful? And can there be scarce an instance given where it has either rooted out the true or a false religion? And in countries where opinions differing from the state-religion have been suppressed by extreme rigour, the inhabitants may have been put to death, or driven away, but can it be said to have wrought conversions?

In all ages, and all places, hereticks and sectaries have rather been increased, than diminished by persecution: It brings them to unite in a firmer band with one another; it makes them fortify themselves with industry and council, and purify their religious discipline, which is always popular: They pay a blind obedience to their teachers; and compassion, acquaintance, relation, affinity, mutual traffick, or interest, create them many friends among the orthodox, till at last they are not only in a condition to work disorder in the church, but they grow into such a posture of strength as is able to give disturbance to the state.

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But to be very careful to preserve and maintain an act of toleration, sets the minds of all the people at quiet: it quite breaks the measures of all separate congregations whatsoever; their strict union is at an end, instead of which each courts the state, and is for making its own private terms. They become careless when out of danger, like armies which will not take the pains of intrenching when their enemies are at a great distance: Their church discipline slackens and decays, and their warm zeal cools (both which are indeed purest in all religions when under persecution) they begin to mind their worldly concerns, which when the flock do, the pastor can no longer guide them as he pleases. And such of the other side as pitied, and therefore were the friends of their adversity, think themselves no more obliged to appear with, or for them, when they see them unmolested, and full as much at their ease as the rest of the people. Thus a torrent swelling high with opposition, when that opposition is removed falls away gently of itself: And thus sectaries moulder by degrees into small and weak particles, when they are not made considerable by being taken notice of, and disturbed by those who govern.

In the same manner a false religion, in countries where it is uppermost, will sooner suppress the true one by gentle than rough methods: And the French historians tell us, that the Huguenots, whose numbers were rather multiplied, than made less, by a persecution of 40 years, returned in crowds to the church of Rome when Henry the III^d abated the rigour of his laws against them. He gave them to understand that as they were to fear no hurt, so they were to expect no favour from him. He shut them out from the manage-

ment of affairs by a general care in the executive power: He took none of that persuasion into familiarity or the service of his household: He excluded them from all offices of the crown, the revenue, courts of justice, government of provinces and places, and from all employments in the army; and the nature of man is so interested, that this perverted more from the truth in 3 or 4 years, than all the cruelty that had been before suggested, by priests, to him and his predecessors; and it was then thought he would in a short time have reduced his whole kingdom to one religion, if the warmth of the Roman clergy, and the fiery zeal of that powerful faction, the league, had not by main force compelled him to change his measures, revoke his edicts, and to renew the civil war.

What event the contrary course now taken in France will have, time only can shew us; however we see so far already that the kingdom is thereby much depopulated; and admit it should succeed, it is a pattern no Prince ought to follow, it is a spirit, which though the Roman church still retains, ours seems to have quite laid aside, and it is to be hoped will never resume hereafter; it is generally followed with such convulsions as an absolute monarchy, supported by armies, may perhaps be able for a while to bear; but they must shake to pieces our constitution, where there is no basis to rest upon but the affections of the whole people, and where the oppressed in religion are sure to intermix with, and fly for refuge to some faction in the state.

Unless it should hereafter become apparent that the dissenters affect superiority over the established church, it is not probable that any will be so imprudent as ever to attempt a direct repealing of the laws which allow liberty of conscience in this kingdom:

kingdom: But all those heats which seem in the least to lead towards it are as carefully to be avoided, if we would preserve that union, which alone can make us powerful abroad, and strong at home. Imaginary fears often disturb men as much as a real danger, and they are brought to tumultuate upon mere fancies; but they grow more alarmed when they believe there is some foundation for their suspicions; so that not only an essential infraction of what they think their right, but what looks like it is to be shunned, if you would keep a jealous people quiet.

And things should be managed with such caution and candour towards them, as they should not have reason to urge that they are obliquely injured, or hurt by a side-wind. Favourable and indulgent laws granted by Princes to any distinct part of their subjects, in one instance, resemble treaties between Prince and Prince, which when they grow to be interpreted "stricto jure," or in the strictest sense, come soon after to be quite broken: For, as among Princes, cavils of this nature beget first angry disputes, then high resentments, then mutual injuries, and at last produce an open breach; so a strict keeping to the very letter of the law, may have somewhat a like operation between those who govern, and those whom a government has thus indulged.

And though the legislature may with justice say to any sect in religion, You have these and these liberties allowed you by the law, which shall be kept inviolate, but by the strictest letter of it, we are not barred from doing so and so; you invert your pretended zeal to downright hypocrisy, you play fast and loose, you are against us in principle, and with us for advantage; you make an ill use of the indulgence granted; you

mean to undermine us with it, and you give us just cause to exert that authority of which we have not abridged ourselves, even according to the written letter of the law; you shall therefore be so and so restrained, and thus and thus excluded.

All this may be strictly just, but how far prudential will be the question. Will not the dissenters be apt to reply, We are in possession of a right to remain separate from the main body, and yet approach your communion? If we sin by hypocrisy, there is a God to inflict his vengeance on us. Is it not putting us upon a new foot, if we may not, at one and the same time, have our liberty of conscience, and yet enjoy all the privileges and advantages of other Englishmen, qualifying ourselves as the law requires? Are we barred from this by any law in being? Why a new law to bind those who thought themselves free ever since the first act for toleration? You say it is a caution necessary to oppose our incroachments, and that you have not debarred yourselves from so doing: But when you thus erect, though it be upon your own ground, a new citadel, just over against our fortress, we cannot but suspect, you mean it, at least, as a bridle to us, if you have not further designs of making from thence excursions into our territories. And does not all this tend to infringe the articles of peace, which upon granting the toleration, seemed to be concluded between both parties?

Small punctilio's are sufficient to renew antient animosities; and thus a thing perhaps in its own nature indifferent, offered or let alone, opposed or consented to, without any consequence to either side, may be so improved by their wicked arts who promote division, as to inflame a country: It may at first occasion disputes, those disputes
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may raise heats, and those heats must have a general bad influence upon all other affairs.

But all this may perhaps go higher; tenacious zeal in a wrong cause (for so it must be, to justify dissimulation with the God of truth) may provoke the unlimited power of the legislature, to animadvert upon those who are not satisfied with modest terms of liberty; and who, instead of being upon an equal foot with others, insist for a strange kind of latitude, and to have privileges above the rest of their fellow subjects. If this indiscretion arrive to a great height; if this unbounded freedom is asserted as a right; if it be justified by any other argument than that a new law in this matter, may look like a breaking into what already is, almost by universal consent, established in favour of dissenters; such an arrogance may make it be thought, they contend not for equality, but dominion: The consequence whereof must be, that others will begin to think of measures which may lead to their own preservation, and that it becomes in a manner requisite, to reduce those, whose ambition, mounted on the wings of zeal, is so aspiring; all which must be followed by attempts to take away, by law, liberties, by their abuse grown dangerous, and such attempts may awaken dissensions long since buried and forgotten, bring old wounds to bleed afresh, embroil the publick, and perhaps, at last, produce an open breach.

But admit that none of this happens, suppose the point quietly yielded, and that they who thus give battle to hypocrisy, are victorious, without any hurt to themselves, or without an immediate wounding of the commonwealth; though the victory may be desirable, will it make us stronger and safer? Shall we be afterwards better united among ourselves, either in civil or religious matters?

On the contrary, are not effects quite different from all this, to be rather apprehended?

Will not the Dissenters thereupon be inclined to take new measures, and enter into new councils? Is it not probable that they may think they are again divided from us, and that it will be necessary for them once more to have a separate interest from that of the whole publick? and may not all this raise ferments in the blood, and bring several acute humours to float in the body politick, which now seem to lie quiet? May they not believe it imports them to seek for the aid of friends, which of course must lead them to make fresh application to those who, though firm to the Church of England, are yet by principle, for allowing to others liberty of conscience in its full extent? And may not the consequence of this tend to divide the Church itself?

When the Nonconformists fancy themselves to be attacked, is it not to be feared they will strike up a stricter league than peradventure now they have, with such persons as are discontented? Of which there are many in all countries; whereof some are angry, because their true merits are not recompenced, as well as there are others, who from either a restless temper, or from pride, ambition, or the disappointment of immoderate hopes, become disaffected to the state. Has not a conjunction between such as malign the Church, and such as malign the government, been found by experience, always formidable, and sometimes fatal? Does it not afford plenty of bad matter for bad men to work upon? Does it not give to faction fresh vigour, and long life? And who will answer that deviating, though but a little, from the principles upon which the late revolution was founded, shall not produce new accidents, and bring mischiefs against which it may be hard to find a remedy?

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They who promote this matter, think perhaps it will contribute towards creating unity, and that so we may have here the coat of Christ, which was without a seam; that the adverse side finding themselves in some sense not to be compleatly members of the commonwealth, unless they are members of the Church, will return into its bosom.

But are there not reasons to believe they will rather harden in their separation? especially when we contemplate them in their proper form and ranks, in a view of the whole people; when we reflect who, and what they are; and when we consider from what they are to be excluded.

They have in communion with them, none of the nobility, and but few among the gentry; not many of the substantial freeholders frequent their meetings; so that impartially speaking, they can be said to have but little strength in the landed interest. But a few of the rich merchants are with them, or of the men of professions, such as law and physick, nor of the most substantial trades-men or retailers: however they seem very far from being despicable, as wanting numbers. Except the first, in all the other ranks, they have some, and not a few of the female sex. Of sea-faring men we may reckon more than they, but they have a large proportion. They have likewise very many in the inferior classes of men, or what we call the vulgar, such as are the lower tradesmen, or retailers, artificers, manufacturers, and day-labourers, who altogether are that part of the people that subsists by and depends upon the better sort, and in these multitudes their chief strength consists.

Having thus ranged them in their several degrees, let us consider them in their persons, as their persons may have relation to their respective circumstances. As in our Church, so in their congregations,

tions, there are both good and bad : Without doubt many of them are men of exemplary lives, sincere piety, and meek zeal, and these will rather be confirmed in their devotion than shaken in it by any troubles they meet with in this world. Of these such as are poor, follow their handy-crafts and manufactures, think of nothing else, and because of their sobriety, thrive faster than other men. On the other hand, such of them as have wealth addict themselves to trade, inasmuch as their education has not fitted them for the court, the bar, or armies; to all these it will be no hurt to be shut out of employments, that are more a burthen than a profit. It is true, the purest in any sect may be well enough pleased with power, but will not prostitute their consciences to attain it, and consequently cannot like to be distinguished from their fellow subjects by a new law, though it only debars them from what perhaps they do not covet : Therefore as to this sort of men, the consideration of their worldly interest will not make many proselytes.

Indeed among the bad there may be a plentiful harvest, and they will all of them by degrees be for creeping into the bosom of the Church, so that they may be warm and well nourished in it. Such as have no true sense of religion, meer hypocrites, whose pretended godliness is no more than singularity and pride, will crowd in apace; for spiritual pride is one of the bastard children of ambition, resembling it's parent in many features, and like ambition, will descend to act any kind of part, and to do whatever is wicked, false, and base, to bring about it's own designs and ends : Of these divers may be willing to take any oath or test that can be tendered, and also to abandon their separate meetings, with a resolution never to return thither any more, provided they have such a call as may make
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it worth their while: But this cannot go very far, there are not offices for all that will desire to be so brought over.

Besides, the executive power may think it decent to interpose. When the administration is as it ought to be, the government may not judge it safe to employ persons of such abandoned principles, to whom religion is indifferent, and whom interest can carry to a Church which they say is full of errors. What must then be the consequence? Will not these men thus argue with themselves? The law takes from us the convenient privilege we had to be of both sides, to traverse from one to another as we saw it most for our profit, but we are no longer suffered to continue upon these terms of neutrality; they will not allow us, at one and the same time, to enjoy the offices, trusts, and emoluments of the publick, and yet hold intelligence with, and preserve the countenance and favour of our own party: If we aim at business, power and greatness, we must declare for one or the other side, and then stick to it; we cannot halt between them both. But what will it avail us to go over? We are not cut out for a court: arms bring honour, but no wealth, which is what we seek after. The clergy suspecting the old leaven that is in us, will take us to be wolves in sheeps cloathing, and do their utmost to shut us out of their folds. And in general, will not they who govern esteem themselves bound rather to encourage those of their antient following, whose integrity has been long tried, than us who are new friends, and whose faith stands suspected?

What then will be the effect of our conformity? A few of us only can get by it, the rest will be unregarded: It is better therefore to remain as we are, and continue in our separation. Let us refuse to be members of the Church, though it exclude

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us in some sense from being members of the common-wealth. But if we cannot get ourselves into the state, why may not the state be brought to us? If we can be the superior religion, we shall have all the power: Who knows what a resolute perseverance may produce? The attempt once succeeded: covering our designs under the veil of reforming zeal, and by our arts, boldness, and industry, did we not overthrow a government strongly supported? And why may not the same be done again? But suppose we fail in this, if we cannot compass our ambition, let us endeavour to gratify some of our other appetites. A separation from the main body well united within itself, is attended with many advantages. If a new law shuts us out from profitable employments, we shall not be troubled with those that are burthensome; so that what we lose one way we get another: Let our dealings be confined as much as possible to those of our own persuasion: Let us sell to the adversary, and buy of none but friends: Let us by thrift, and a perpetual bending of our thoughts to business, grow rich apace; for wealth begets respect, and much property cannot be long without some power: Let us favour, assist, and countenance none but one another, or those we see inclined towards us: in all affairs let us go together, as if we were acted by one council and one spirit. We have numbers which will daily increase, if the other side is so unpolitick as to enter upon measures that may render us yet more popular: If we do not scatter we are a formidable body, and whoever have a mind to disturb the state will always court us: divided from the rest, and firmly joined with one another, we are of great weight, and perhaps may turn the balance that way we lean; but if we comply, and lose those marks of distinction where-

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in we have so long found our own account, we must expect that private advantages will very much diminish; and in relation to the publick, we shall make no figure, be of no value, and must be contented to return into the common herd of the whole people.

Thus the bad among them (who in all persuasions and sects are the majority) will peradventure argue; and whoever weighs well in his mind the persons and their circumstances, will probably come at last to an opinion, that the new remedy proposed will be apter to nourish than cure the disease; that time and moderation are the best physicians in this case; that stronger remedies may stir up, and yet not carry off bad humours, which is dangerous in politick, as it is in natural bodies; that any thing which has in it but the least shadow of compulsion, instead of bringing them to conform, will (for reasons grounded upon their interest, private or publick) rather make them more obdurate in their schism.

But it may not be improper to look a little further. Do not their ablest heads and deep thinking men, really desire that such an attack should be made upon them? Are they not grown weaker by the toleration already granted? Has it not deadned their zeal? Has it not impaired the authority of their preachers? Do they not perceive their flocks beginning to throw off marks of distinction, in talk, dress, and way of living? Does not their decayed and sick discipline stand in need of some powerful cordial to revive it? Do not they want somewhat, which among their own thoughtless vulgar, they may call a persecution? May they not rejoice at but a colour of pretending to be persecuted, and be glad of something that will make their pastors more respected,

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spected, and help to awaken the zeal of their congregations, growing now to languish, and which may bring them back to their former singularity, renew their discipline, and restore that unity in interest and councils, which made them heretofore so strong?

It is not improbable but all this may be the case; and if so, can it be wisdom in the Church of England to furnish those who fight against it with arms offensive and defensive, to give them means of bringing better order among their troops than now they seem to have, and to drive them into such a situation of their camp, that from it they may annoy others, but are not to be approached themselves?

Can it be prudent to help their teachers with a popular, though false topick to exclaim upon among their followers, that there are designs to oppress them in the tender point of conscience, that one attempt may be soon followed by another of more importance, that they must prepare for tryals, and that the purity of the gospel is in danger?

A wise government should never give designing men a handle whereby they may promote their own interest, and work mischief to the state. It is always prudent not to let combustible matter get together; if it is gathered, and cannot be removed without much trouble, it is to be carefully watched that none may have an opportunity of putting fire to it: Nor are the vulgar so easily to be inflamed on any account whatsoever, as when it is suggested to them, that religion is concerned.

Not immediate conveniences, but the future consequence of things is to be consulted by the publick, which is always to extend its view as far forward as possible. Measures leading to division, though remotely, are to be shunned; but especially all kind of contests are to be avoided with a sort of people,

people accustomed to pay strict obedience to their leaders, and who, when they seem most scattered, can, like Parthians, in an instant rally, and be prepared for fresh engagements; who grow stronger by being opposed, and who, if they are left to the courses they are in, must, in process of time, disband of their own accord.

But it may be objected, it is in their own power to change their present ways of living, and to introduce again among themselves their former strictness, they may do this which way soever they are dealt with. But are religions, either true or false, so ready to reform, unless they are driven into it by some motive or impulse more than ordinary? Are not all church disciplines apt to decline in time from the severity which was professed at the beginning? Has not persecution always been the surest method of reviving zeal, be it sincere or feigned? Is not the nature of man most desirous of what is forbidden, whether it be good or bad? Does not the prospect of danger produce jealousies? Do not jealousies, well or ill grounded, render men watchful and more active? And does not security beget negligence in all affairs, as well divine as human?

Whether such a restraint upon dissenters will do good or hurt, is at least dubious. The best arguments for it are the known worth, experience, zeal, and integrity towards the publick, true affection to the antient constitution of this realm, the wisdom, probity, and the unblemished characters of the gentlemen who seem to promote it, whose candour is so great, that doubtless they will not be offended to hear what may be said on the other side, especially when it comes from one who has given so many proofs of his firm adherence, as well to the interest as the doctrine of the Church of England.

And this subject has been the longer dwelt upon, as most needful to be handled in a discourse, which endeavours to propose methods, whereby the divisions of a country may be healed: because though the temple of Janus was shut at the coming of our Saviour, yet the devil has been so industrious to inspire wickedness into the heart of man, that almost ever since the beginning of the fourth century, religion has set the world at variance.

But nothing more becomes the piety of a virtuous Prince, than to defeat the malice of this crafty serpent, by taking all the ways that lead to peace. And when the subordinate parts of government bear themselves with moderation in this point, it attracts, and then sincere conversion follows. But if different opinions about religious matters are not to be prevented, a wise state is to contrive, that they may never be injurious to the publick, nor interrupt it's quiet. Differences of this nature would give little disturbance to human kind, if the contention were, as it ought to be, whose light should shine brightest, not which shall make the greatest blaze.

If the Polemicks would only wrangle among themselves, and within the schools; if these tormentors of truth would put it upon the rack nowhere but in their own closets, they might be overlooked as not dangerous; but they transgress their bounds, getting into courts, cities, and national assemblies; till at last they kindle others with the fire that has seized them, and come to engage whole empires in their quarrel, and are therefore to be watched in all their motions.

It would be endless to shew what tumults zeal has produced, what animosities it has created, what armies it has raised, and what blood it has been brought to shed: It is active, malicious, fearless
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of danger, warmer in the wrong than in the right, and deaf to council.

They who are possessed with this unruly spirit, if they happen to have a government with them, are apt at every turn to run it upon fatal precipices; if it be against them, they traduce whatever is well done, and expose to the people all it's weakness or misfortunes. But the sore place in a state upon which they stick most, is faction, and there they do the greatest mischief; they irritate the bad humours in it, they promote it's excesses, and will never let it listen to terms of moderation.

But all these evils wise and good Princes cure, when their rule is in the main without reproach; when they proceed by gentle and not rough methods, holding the reins however with a strong and steady hand: and especially, when they take care to remove from warm and angry minds, any pretence of ranging themselves one side against the other, under the banners of religion.

S E C T. XII.

Of Frugality in managing the Publick Treasure.

THE French history has a remarkable passage, which shows what fatal accidents profusion may bring upon a state. When the Duke of Guise was pressed by the council of sixteen, to take arms, and begin the rebellion, being at Soissons, Believre was sent thither to him, by whom he returned his submission to Henry the III^d, with certain terms he insisted upon, not unreasonable, which the cabinet approved; and Believre was commanded to write the Duke word, That he was kept at Paris by business for 3 days, at the end of which he would be with him, and bring credentials and ample conditions; but, says Mezeray, in the royal coffers, from whence so many millions had issued out to enrich the minions, there could not be then found 25 crowns to defray the expence of an express, so the letter was sent by the common post. The 3 days expired, and things being not ready, Believre pressed the King to be gone, suspecting some extravagant sally from the Duke's impatience; the King however kept him still, and ordered him to write a second time to hold the Duke in hand: again the 25 crowns could not be had for an express, and this letter also was sent by the common post; upon this, Guise, though both packets came to hand, went to Paris, came into the presence in a triumphant manner, and afterwards besieged Henry in his own palace; this insolence was not forgiven, he was murdered at Blois, and his murder drew on that of the King himself. It was then said, That had the

the letters been delivered into his proper hands, by an exprefs messenger from the King, his disobedience had remained without excuse, and he had not presumed to approach the court with such an ostentation of his strength; until then the wound was not wide, matters were not incapable of being reconciled, all might have been made up, and those horrid murthers, and a long civil war, that followed, had been prevented.

This instance shows a government may be so shaken by male-administration, that the smallest incident will suffice to overturn it, and that there may be a certain period in disorder, beyond which there is no proceeding any further; since France, which for 14 years had endured the immoderate profusions of this Prince, was brought to the very brink of ruin for the want of such a trifling sum as 25 crowns.

It is seldom indeed that the fate of empire depends upon so slender a circumstance as this was, but some time or other, in all states, great accidents happen, which are very difficult to be opposed, when the treasure of the publick has been wasted.

Princes are not frequently driven into necessities by magnificence, though even when it exceeds the limits of discretion; but they are rather impoverished by a general neglect in their affairs, by not minding what is asked, or what they give, nor on who their bounties are bestowed; and so they become a prey to all that are about them.

Hence it is that many Kings, whose natural inclinations were narrow and penurious, and through whose hands vast sums had past, did notwithstanding always labour under debts and difficulties; but wanting either capacity, a genius, or inclination to look after this important business of the crown, they suffered others to plunder them of

what they had not a heart to lay out for the benefit of their people, or to purchase the fame of being magnificent: Whereas several Princes whose minds have been truly large, and noble, and who were still open-handed, have yet had wealth sufficient to support the commonwealth, and wherewithal to supply the desires they had of extending their bounty very far, and all this without oppression to their subjects. But then they were good managers in the main; they inspected their own affairs, and took care to be served by men of parts and integrity; they saved where thrift was requisite and honourable; they strove to enrich merit, and not fraud; and upon the whole, were willing to give, but not to let themselves be cheated.

Next to the care of religion, there is no one duty more incumbent upon Princes, than to have a strict eye to the managing the publick treasure and revenues. Negligence there opens a gate to all sorts of disorder; and where this part of government is defective, no material error in the state can be corrected; for the great ones, who commonly participate in this male-administration, will prevent inferior abuses from being reformed, for fear their own conduct should come at last to be brought in question when things are going to be mended: And there is hardly an instance to be given of a court, careless and prodigal, wherein all other misgovernment did not at the same time abound.

But when this part of executive power (upon which the rest so much depend) proceeds well and wisely, the other parts grow better of their own accord; because men are willing to conform themselves to their manners by whom the Prince's favours are dispensed; and what they do, becomes in time a kind of fashion.

When such as have this post are vigilant and frugal for the publick, those in lower stations think it needful to tread in the same steps. When they who sit at helm have clean hands themselves, they can compel those below them to be honest; and hope of reward, or fear of punishment, working more than sense of duty, men begin to find it their interest to quit the ill courses they were in, especially when they see they have not the corruption of those above them to resort to as a refuge. Thus great examples from chief ministers, may, by degrees, restore the affairs of a whole kingdom. Besides, this vigilance and frugality give such credit, and add such real strength to any state, that they who rule it will soon be able to reform abuses.

On the other hand, where there is a corrupt, negligent, and profuse administration, does any thing go right? Is not the bad influence of it felt from top to bottom? Who is there that thinks it worth his while to serve well? When the publick is exposed to plunder, does not almost every man forget the duties of his office, and employ his whole thoughts in contriving how he may have as large a share of the booty as any of his fellow robbers? And do not the great thieves protect the less? In a state so disordered, what is there to induce men to discharge their duty, but sometimes honour, which indeed, not many years ago, made an English army in Flanders obedient to discipline, and fight bravely without cloaths, pay, and almost without bread? But there is more virtue in soldiers inspired with true courage, than is to be found in any other sort of men.

Profuse Princes have not love and respect even from their domesticks, menial servants, officers, followers, and dependents. For this levity and

carelessness of theirs does not extend to enrich all, the sweet of it is only tasted by a few who are let in to obtain suits, or who have opportunities to fleece the crown in their dealings with it, but the rest starve or live in splendid poverty; and though perhaps they may flatter within the palace walls, they rail out of doors, expose what is doing, and are the very first to sow discontents, and the first to infect the common people with the hatred they privately bear, and not without reason, to those who are at the head of business.

Whereas a frugal government is revered and beloved. They are in a condition to pay the household; they have the good wishes of their domesticks; their ambassadors and ministers are not disgraced in foreign countries, by running into debts abroad, because they are not kept touch with at home: It is true, the ministry is not then praised by extortioners, tally-jobbers, and by such as were wont to get immense sums by dealing or contracting with the publick: But a better management is applauded by those who are satisfied with honest and moderate gain, in their commerce, and bargains with the court.

They who are used to make vast profits by their dealings with it, to use a common proverb, are so far from "praising the bridge they go over," that they scorn those whom they have thus outwitted, or surpris'd; and are so far from thinking themselves obliged to the crown for having made their fortunes by it, that they are afraid to own the obligation; and the diadem would be but weak indeed, if it had no friends but those who have been enriched with the jewels of it. It is a lasting truth, that they whose practice it has been to deceive the publick, thank nothing but their own good luck and cunning: Whereas they who deal
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with a state, when they see a great man hard with them, as the term is, and thrifty for his Prince, it begets in them more respect to the whole government; they cannot but commend so much careful wisdom, and they go away contented, with less gain indeed, but with this satisfaction, that they shall be sure of just and punctual payments, and never to be postponed.

It is true, an honest and wise minister, who observes this conduct, and is more frugal for the publick than in his own private affairs, cannot avoid contracting many enemies: In a bad age, it is a virtue not without its dangers. They who have been so long fed with corruption, that their stomachs can digest no other diet, will dislike such measures; and a man treading these steps, must arm himself with patience, for his coolest temper must be often tried. They who would steal the golden apples, will hate the watchful eyes that are upon them; and he who undertakes this post, is to expect that secret malice will be working in the dark to undermine him; perhaps he may be pursued by the most interested part of mankind with open clamours, advantages will be taken of the least trip he makes, he must look for traverses to be traduced, and to have his actions scanned, and misinterpreted: However let him persevere; for if a state be not quite devoted to ruin, he who acts thus uprightly for it, and with such care, will overcome all difficulties; and the wisdom and justice of his councils, will at last meet with universal approbation.

Indeed for a great man to perform this work alone and without help, would be difficult; and to think of introducing thrift in a government that has been long in quite another road, would be a fruitless attempt if his partners in the state
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are corrupt, and have other inclinations; but when they concur with him, have all the same right intentions to the publick, and desire its prosperity as much as he does, and when the Prince consults the general good of the people, encourages and promotes these wholesome prudent and safe advices, the task is not insuperable.

But though there be labour in it, though it requires much application of the mind, constancy and patience, yet upon the whole, it is far more easy than the opposite course, or to find ways and means of supplying those infinite wants which misgovernment occasions.

Are not produse and negligent Princes compelled to lay perpetual taxes on their subjects? Do not these impositions beget murmurs and discontents? And is it not evident from all experience, that these discontents of the people have hurried some of our Kings into the thoughts of assuming arbitrary rule, and at the same time driven their chief ministers of state upon tricks, arts, and desperate measures, whereby to maintain their posts, and preserve their power? And has not all this terminated either in popular insurrections, or in open rebellion, or in producing powerful factions, whose unruly strength rendered government itself so perplexed, and full of dangers, that they who sat the helm, became more the subject of compassion than of envy.

What great hazard is there for a minister to contend with the intrigues of here and there a courtier, discontented because his immoderate hopes of getting are not gratified? Or to suffer the obloquies of a devouring crew, who may perhaps be angry because the publick is no longer exposed to be their prey, and for that they cannot make their wonted gains by the high interest of money,

money, large premiums, and by discounting tallies? Is it not much more safe and easy to bear all this, than to have an army mutinous for want of pay, seamen clamorous for their wages, the family grumbling for the want of their arrears, and at the same time, the whole people groaning under the weight of heavy taxes? All which are the sad effects of negligence and profusion in a court.

Were there scarce ever any differences here between the King and his subjects, in which mismanagement of the publick treasure was not one of the principal ingredients? Whether national interest be pursued or no, is a high point of state not often considered by the multitude, provided they enjoy present peace and plenty. The excesses of power likewise, unless they are very exorbitant indeed, seldom come to affect them, nor are they with ease brought to engage in those quarrels: They mind as little (generally speaking) how the executive power proceeds, provided the course of justice is so free, that they may recover their debts from those who are of higher rank. Nor does it much import them who sit at helm and are the ministers: They enter not into matters of speculation, unless when religion is concerned; to other points their eyes are not very open; but though they may not see so far, they can feel as well as others.

They are able to make comparison between good and bad reigns, frugal and a careless management; under the first they find themselves rich and easy, under the second poor and oppressed with taxes. Besides, they are apt to think such conduct in a court an invasion of their properties. For in a free nation, or in a government of the laws, and not of men, as Princes have a kind of
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right to such revenues as may support the royal dignity, and enable them to protect the publick, as well in its honour as its safety; so the body of the people collectively considered, have likewise a natural right to such a proportion of their country's wealth and product, as is sufficient not only for the necessary but comfortable subsistence of life; and when they have not this due share out of their own labours, when to carry on the wild ambition of a King, or to maintain his unjust wars for dominion, or to supply his unlimited and partial bounties, extended to unworthy objects, and all his vain expences, they are racked and fleeced; and when by such a general profusion, governments are compelled to raise, though it be by legal ways and means, more than the people can pay without drawing their very blood from them; they murmur, believe themselves directly robbed, they exclaim upon these courses as tyrannical, and grow to hate their rulers.

And does not all this commonly end in driving them to apply to popular and ambitious men, who cloath their designs with the fair pretences of being for the publick good, and against all burthens that lie too hard upon the people? And do not the multitude blindly follow such persons, be they honest or dishonest, who offer them help in this case, and who are zealous to take this cause in hand? And from hence do not powerful factions arise, who come to have great weight, and to be well heard and applauded, not only where there is, but where there is not any just reason for complaining?

And this is so true, that let the management of affairs be as much without reproach as the best patriots of all sides can wish it, yet if the circumstances of the time are such that much money must
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be raised, whoever are stiff in this point, strict examiners into estimates and demands of the court, inquisitive after the expence of what has been given; they who appear thus careful for the publick, shall for this single merit be considerable; regard will be had to what they say in all other debates and arguments; they will get reputation without doors, and make a figure in any party. Does it not therefore import ministers to manage with frugality, when let their administration be never so severe, it is notwithstanding exposed to attacks esteemed at all seasons popular?

Ill conduct in money matters of itself is sufficient to raise a strength against those in power; and where parties are already formed, it renders those the bolder who design mischief to the state; because they know how difficult it is for a government to resist its enemies when it is without treasure, and has not the affections of the people; which was the case of Henry the III^d of France, whom we mentioned in the beginning of this section; a Prince full of natural valour, blessed with early victories, and adorned with eloquence, which was said to be irresistible; yet one of his own subjects, not of the royal blood, came to his capital city, at the head of no more than seven persons, in order to begin a rebellion, which aimed at wresting the scepter from him. How came a man of the Duke of Guise's caution and sagacity to take in hand an enterprize at first sight so unlikely to succeed, but that he knew how low this King had brought himself by a long series of misgovernment; that France, impoverished by taxes, was grown weary of his rule; that the minds of the people were quite alienated from him; that his riots and profusion had quite exhausted that treasure wherewith his crown was to be defended. And without doubt
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this view gave the house of Lorrain, the council of sixteen at Paris, and the general faction of the league, courage to begin that war.

Wants in a state, from whatsoever cause they proceed, seldom fail of furnishing those with an opportunity who desire to innovate, begetting in them higher thoughts than perhaps they would have otherwise entertained. Thus in the time of King Charles the Ist, had not the exchequer been so drained by the war with Scotland, that the difficulties the crown lay under seemed insuperable, perhaps the parliament thereupon called, might have brought up with them a better temper; they had insisted upon modester terms, and a rupture had been avoided; for it was not impossible to have preserved the constitution by a great deal less than what they came to ask, when the necessities were believed to be such that the crown could refuse nothing.

Ill conduct not only renders the Sovereign weak at home, but contemptible abroad. Thus the Emperor Maximilian the Ist, always necessitous, added no weight to the side he embraced; when at the same time, our Henry the VIIIth, not indeed by his own, but by the benefit of his father's thrift, made such a figure in the world, was courted by all the great Princes of that age; Lewis the XIIth, Francis the Ist, and King Ferdinand of Spain, and was able to turn the balance of Europe where-ever he inclined.

Henry the IVth of France, by his own good husbandry, and with the assistance of that wise and frugal treasurer the Duke of Sully, brought his crown out of those infinite disorders and debts wherewith it had been involved by the factions then reigning, and by a long civil war; so that in
a few

a few years he saw himself in a condition to defeat the scheme Spain had laid for universal empire.

Nothing more contributes to the felicity of Princes, than to be well and faithfully served in this chief branch of government; for at one and the same time, they are powerful, and their subjects happy; and when the crown thus flourishes, it can protect its own people, and assist other nations.

The frugality treated of here, is not a narrow hoarding up of wealth to stagnate in the exchequer, or to save where saving is either trivial or dishonourable, but a general good œconomy in the minister; when he takes care that the publick treasure be never wasted, and yet is ready with a liberal hand to supply every great occasion, where the Prince's honour, and the kingdom's safety is concerned: He who acts so, has the true virtues of an able statesman. However to perform one, he must do the other; for debts are not to be discharged, armies and fleets are not to be paid at home, nor can craving alliances abroad be supported, unless all possible methods are followed, that may tend to lessen your expences, and advance your credit.

And credit is the natural consequence of a thrifty management. When for want of due care, a state is driven into necessity, private men will take advantage of it, and the publick is then shunned like a prodigal half broken, who when he borrows must pay roundly for it, though he is able to give good security. But as all strive to throw their money, and at an easy rate, into his hands who is known to be a wary man; so thrifty governments have always their choice of lenders. And thus by prudent administration, the exchequer interest may be reduced from 50 (for so it has been) to 4 per cent. than which nothing can be more beneficial

to a kingdom, since it is not only a present ease to the whole people in their taxes, but it enlivens traffick; for where the publick borrows at 4, the interest in private dealings must soon be at 3 per cent. which in a short time would perhaps double the trade of England.

If this happiness be continued to us, we shall no more be the prey of foreigners, who, for many years, have drained this realm of its treasure, by lending their money at high interest upon our funds, and then drawing it back with a vast increase.

And thus a wise proceeding in the executive power, has compassed what was esteemed difficult for the legislature itself to bring about. Usury and extortion are such gigantick monsters, as to grow more than a match for the very laws, and yet they are to be subdued by prudence; but though they seem, for the present, conquered and bound in chains, any attempt to break in upon the credit of the publick, must restore them to all their former liberties, and they will again be in a condition to devour both the people and the state, as they did not long ago.

And it will be at all times impossible for a minister to pursue those ways of thrift, so needful to a nation engaged in an expensive war, unless there be an universal concurrence with him, to preserve inviolate the credit of the publick; it is the very foundation of good oeconomy: There an able statesman begins, and indeed may build upon it what he pleases; he may buy at the best hand; he may remit abroad at an easy rate, borrow at a low interest, and retrench needless expences, in which articles there is near a third difference between a good and a bad management, or between losing
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and keeping credit. The treasures of a kingdom flow into the exchequer when it is punctual, and when to deal with it is found safe, though not so profitable as heretofore. But a minister cannot hold to ways of saving for the state, when his first measures are broken, for if his basis be undermined, all his super-structures must fall to ground.

In reigns where they who are at helm, propose to themselves such a frugal scheme as may ease the people in their future taxes, they begin with promoting acts for making good deficiencies, and for preserving the publick credit, setting the minds of such lenders at quiet, as were engaged in no less a sum than 2,338,628*l.* without any fund for the satisfaction of their debts.

While these methods are followed, a country may be served in the best manner, by those to whom this part of government is entrusted; but if they are departed from, there must be an end of good husbandry. When there is a great war to carry on, there will be deficiencies from time to time; to provide for which, if a constant care is shown, the interest of money will be kept low; but it rises of course, when the publick comes to postpone its creditors, a practice that of late years has, in the consequences of it, cost this nation many millions.

A passage in the Roman history, relating to publick credit, should not be here omitted. This people had just got out of the Carthaginian, and were entering into the Macedonian war: There was then an eager demand upon the state for an old debt, which the consuls would have put off to a more convenient season, alledging want of money for the present expedition, as well to pay the army as the fleet. This matter came before

the senate, who had wiser thoughts, and gave this judgment; That it was imposing a kind of mulct, and punishment, upon the good will of their citizens to the republick, if money lent for the uses of one war, was not repaid, but with-held, and employed to carry on another: “ Si in Punicum
 “ bellum pecunia data, in Macedonicum quoque
 “ bellum uti respublica vellet; aliis ex aliis
 “ orientibus bellis, quid aliud quam publicatam
 “ pro beneficio tanquam ob noxam suam pecuniam
 “ fore ?” And not having ready cash, they settled such a fund out of land, to discharge this debt, as was to the satisfaction of the lenders.

When the subjects observe an universal care in those above them, to manage what they give and pay, it makes them contribute chearfully to the supplies that are needful to the government; but when they see the product of their labour wasted, these aids come from them with murmurs and reluctance.

To a good and virtuous prince, nothing, without doubt, can be more grating and unpleasant, than to be compelled to raise frequent taxes from the people; but in an expensive war, it is not to be avoided. For, as it was once said in the Roman Senate, When there is no money, how can seamen be had? Without a fleet is Sicily to be gained, is Philip to be driven out of Italy, or are the Italian coasts to be secured? “ Nam unde, quum
 “ pecunia in ærario non esset, paraturos navales
 “ socios? Quomodo autem sine classibus, aut
 “ Siciliam obtineri, aut Italia Philippum arceri
 “ posse, aut tuta Italiæ littora esse?” The Romans were indeed, at that time, under very great straits, they had the Punick war upon their hands, Hannibal was powerful; they were invaded by others;
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the commons were exhausted, the treasury was bare, their mariners mutinied and refused to be lifted, and yet one wise counsel brought them out of all these difficulties.

For the consul Lævinus advised the patricians to begin with laying a tax upon themselves, towards the supply of this occasion; saying in the Senate, "As we the magistrates are chief in this assembly, and as you are in a rank above the people, so ought we and you to appear in the front, and be the foremost in shewing ourselves desirous to undergo any weight that is to lie upon the whole. Whatever you would enjoin to your inferiors, prescribe it to yourself, and make it your own rule, and you shall be with more readiness obeyed: Nor is a burthen thought heavy to the people, when they see those above, and at the very head, give demonstrations that they are willing to bear even more than their proportion of it." "Magistratus, "Senatui, & senatum Populo, sicut honore "præstent, ita ad omnia quæ dura atque aspera "essent, subeunda ducem debere esse. Si quid "injungere inferiori velis, id prius in te ac tuos "si ipse juris statueris, facilius omnes obedientes "habeas. Nec impensa gravis est, quum ex ea "plus quam pro virili parte sibi quemque capere "principum vident." This measure was accordingly taken, the Senators gave largely, the Equestrian order did the same, and it wrought such an effect, that their seamen crowded in, and strove whose names should be first set down, and there were not scribes enough to take an account of the contributions, coming without edict or constraint, and with alacrity from the Plebeians.

The same will hold in kingly governments, when the Prince leads the way and is the first to give

great examples of affection to the publick; when Sovereigns set before their subjects patterns of a noble disposition to it; when to supply its necessities they are willing to lessen that train and pomp, which among the multitude adds lustre to the majesty of Princes; when they restrain the innate bounty of their minds from particular objects, in order to extend their goodness to the whole body of the people; when, to ease their country, they tax themselves; when they desire to bear a part in the burthens of a war; when out of what was freely granted to support the royal dignity, when out of the proper revenues annexed to the civil list, they give one year a hundred thousand pound, and the next year more, including the prizes; when they assist their allies with large sums out of their own peculiar money; when they make their private purse the nation's exchequer, and when they are as ready to give, as other Kings have been to ask, it has a general good influence; it makes necessary burthens sit the easier, it encourages men to bear with unwearied constancy and chearful hearts, the expences and calamities of a long war; and when a Prince proceeds in such a disinterested manner with the people, they never repine at what they do or suffer, and are always ready to sacrifice their blood and treasure to assert the honour of the crown.

But such honest and popular bounties cannot flow from a Sovereign that is not a good oeconomist: One virtue must produce the other, and they who can give nobly, must have already learnt when, where, and how to save with wisdom.

It is likewise being thrifty for the publick when Princes put it out of their own, and the power of their successors, to alienate those revenues that

are to support the royal dignity; when in the very beginning of their reign, they secure the remainder of the crown lands, which had been impaired and diminished by the grants of former Kings and Queens; and when the other hereditary branches, arising from the excise, post-office, first fruits, and wine licenses, &c. are so fixed, that no gift out of them can be made for any farther time than the Prince's life; all which is not only a present ease, but a lasting benefit to future ages: For, as often as the crown rents, and its other supports, were thus alienated, there was a necessity of finding out new supplies to carry on the government, which brought perpetual burthens upon the people; and so it must have been hereafter, if a stop had not been put to this canker in the commonwealth, which would have eat out all at last.

Had this wise provision been made at the coming in of King James the Ist, our Princes had been good freeholders in their country; they might have subsisted upon their own rents; they would have had a land interest; and their being now without it, has quite altered the nature of our old constitution, and perhaps much for the worse: But I shall not enter into that matter.

However it must be allowed of all hands, That our last Kings having deprived themselves of their antient demesnes, has introduced among us excises, and such a variety of new impositions and customs, as are a constant and heavy weight upon our manufactures, and all our foreign trade.

It is true, this remedy and stop came somewhat of the latest, there was little left; and yet the very relicks, and what is now preserved from the general shipwreck, is worth at least a million; for so much may be made from the sale
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of what remains, though it is better, and more honourable without doubt, to keep it always in the crown.

Nor could they who are nearest the throne, give a fairer proof of their integrity to the publick, than to promote this wholesome counsel. The part they had in it, as it was wise, so it was honest, thus to set out of their own reach these tempting morsels that had allured their predecessors, and corrupted so many courts; it was what in former reigns, favourites, and the men in power, opposed with all their strength, who thought it a most sacred prerogative, annexed to the diadem, for Kings to be at liberty to undo themselves.

Some perhaps may urge, why should not Sovereigns have it in their power to reward great actions and signal merits? And why should their liberalities be circumscribed within such narrow bounds? To which may be answered, That most limitations of the regal authority would be needless, if crowns never descended but to wise Princes, full of virtue, and still careful of their people, which are blessings that seldom come; the legislature therefore is to provide against bad reigns under a good one. And these bounties so destructive to the Crown, were not always placed upon deserving objects; true worth was modest, and to be recompenced at an easy rate; but when Princes have been robbed, it was by the ambitious and importunate men about them, who had no real merit, and yet whose avarice was never satiated; and to see such enriched with the spoils of a whole kingdom, did ever afford matter for discord and division.

Frugal Princes rarely want the means of rewarding those who deserve well of them, and
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of their country, and though it be not so much, yet what comes from a judicious hand, that weighs what it gives, is, in the receiver's esteem, of greater value than immoderate gifts from an undiscerning giver, which are thought, even by him who tastes the benefit, to be rather the effect of levity, than goodness.

To conclude this section: A careless and profuse reign has always been embroiled; for in such a juncture, acts of resumption become unavoidable, they who are thereby affected, seek for shelter by keeping up of parties, and raising heats, with hopes to be overlooked in a general confusion; and at these times the oppressors and the oppressed take different sides: The court and country grow to have an opposite interest: The vulgar clamour to see no end of taxes: The palace is disturbed by the noise of factions, who often wrangle among themselves about dividing of the spoil: And while all this is in agitation, Princes are abandoned by the few and false friends, their inconsiderate liberalities had made: They have for enemies the people, to whom their profusions had been a burthen, and their government is weak, unsteady, and precarious; all which bad effects cease when their cause is removed; at least one principal occasion of popular complaints is taken away, when the treasure of the public is managed with frugality.

END of the FOURTH VOLUME.



